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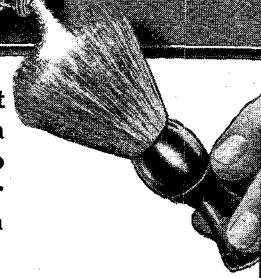

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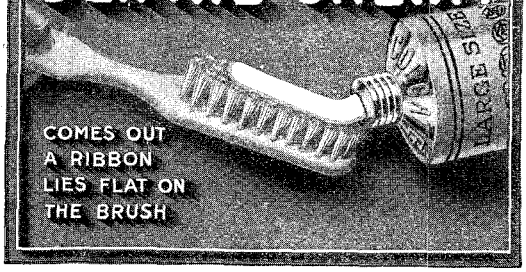

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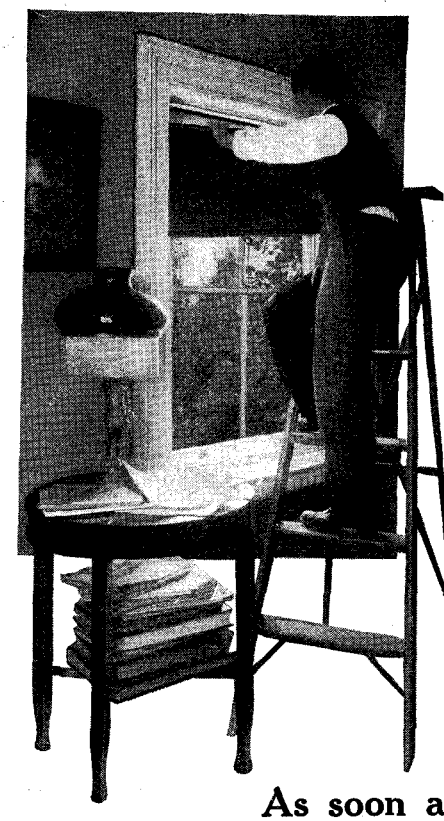

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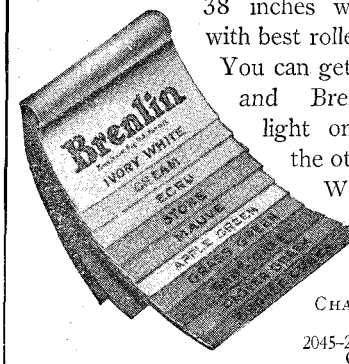

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The Outlook

JUNE 11, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

THE LAW AND THE RAILWAYS

On the same day last week two important events occurred in the railway world. The first was a decision by the United States Supreme Court. The second was the issuance of a temporary injunction upon application by the United States Attorney-General. The first event may be held to be the more important, as it cannot be reversed. The Supreme Court's decision in the so-called Missouri River and Denver freight rate cases definitely upholds the Inter-State Commerce Commission's right to order reductions in inter-State freight rates. Henceforth the Commission's power in this direction cannot be questioned. Strangely enough, this event has attracted much less attention than has been drawn to Attorney-General Wickersham's action. The latter was taken on complaint of a committee of Western shippers that twenty-five railways had joined together to increase inter-State freight rates, thus defying the Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890, which prohibits corporations from uniting in restraint of trade. As a matter of fact, the railways had allowed one person to file for all of them at Washington the notice of their contemplated advances. Although Mr. Wickersham had decided upon his action, he gave the shippers no definite answer. On the following day, however, he had a petition for an injunction filed at St. Louis, on the ground that the advances in rates agreed upon by the railways were made in concert, and thus in violation of law. He kept from the railways the knowledge of the place where the petition was to be filed; otherwise they might have appeared and have asked that the temporary injunction should not issue without a hearing, and, if successful, their new rates would have become effective. The Government's petition, after filing, was taken to Hannibal, Missouri, where Judge Dyer was holding a session of the United States District Court. He immediately issued an order temporarily restraining the railways from enforcing the contemplated advance in their rates, scheduled to take effect on the following day The Government seeks the dissolution of the Western Trunk Line Company, the medium through which the twenty-five roads have made their uniform increases. The action thus indirectly affects similar committees and associations throughout the country which the railways have used in the matter of fixing rates.

THE RAILWAYS AND THE LAW

The Government's action completely surprised the railways. Yet they have only themselves to blame. Their own action was practically a public challenge to the Attorney-General's office. Of course it was natural for them, having suffered by the increase in the cost of labor and of materials, to recoup by increasing rates. But this is not the question. The Government's action prevents no railway from altering its rates. The action is taken against the formation of a combination under such circumstances as virtually to create monopoly and against the fixing of arbitrary rates for the whole community by that combination without supervision. The railways are now protesting that in its action the Government has reversed itself, because both President Roosevelt and President Taft have recommended that traffic agreements be allowed by law. But their recommendations were that the traffic agreements should be allowed by law, subject to the approval of

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the Inter-State Commerce Commission. The Administration's policy remains unchanged and is entirely consistent. It purposes to prosecute any violation of law, while at the same time it asks Congress to make our laws more liberal. It purposes to prevent unregulated monopoly, while at the same time it urges Congress properly to regulate monopoly. Meanwhile, agreements like that attacked, made without the Commission's approval and in clear violation of the law, must be prosecuted. We heartily commend Mr. Wickersham's prompt steps to enforce the law. The railways had practically asked him to suspend the Sherman Act. He has no more right to suspend it than they have to violate it. Moreover, he is carrying out the spirit of legislation now pending. While, to our regret, each house of Congress has now refused to legalize the making of rate agreements, both houses have agreed to give to the Inter-State Commerce Commission greater power to examine any proposed rates before they shall become effective. If the bill were now law, the Commission would have power to examine at length all such rates. Hence Mr. Wickersham's action conforms with the bill's spirit. According to it, he must enforce the Sherman Law as it stands and must uphold the Inter-State Commerce Commission's greater power. In apparent anxiety to forestall the Administration's bill, certain railway companies have clearly overreached themselves.

PRESIDENT TAFT'S INTERPRETATION OF HIS POLICIES

The June number of "McClure's Magazine" contains an article reporting in substance an interview with President Taft by Mr. George Kibbe Turner. Published in this magazine, and with the author's name attached, this interview may probably be taken by the press as a semi-official declaration of the President's interpretation of his own purposes and policies. Respecting the tariff, he condemns vigorously the American method of fixing the schedules on information "obtained from the warped and biased testimony of the men to be affected by their schedules," and calls for the adoption by the United States of the method, adopted by virtually every other great tariff-making country in the world, of obtaining evidence through independent and disinterested experts; and he commends the Tariff Bill for the same reasons which led The Outlook to commend it, because it is, on the whole, an improvement on the previous tariff, and because it provides for a tariff commission to secure evidence on which to base tariff reform in the future. Respecting the measure itself, he says: "I finally signed the bill. Not because it was a perfect tariff; ideal tariffs are an impossibility under the method of tariff legislation we have employed. I signed it because it was the best I could secure under the circumstances; because it represented a considerable downward revision from the Dingley Tariff; and because, all things considered, I did not believe myself justified in holding up the business of the country for months longer by vetoing this bill, on the chance of getting a better one." If the President in his public speeches had taken this ground, we think he would have carried the country with him. Whether justly or not, the country somehow has got the impression that the President was satisfied with the tariff; that it came, approximately, up to his ideal; and that he had only praise for the men in Congress who had fashioned it upon the system which in this interview he unreservedly condemns. He explains how the corporation tax was carried through Congress in connection with a resolution for an income tax as a compromise measure, and as a method, the constitutionality of which he does not doubt, for securing practically a tax on incomes derived from dividends. His definition of the parties who are entitled to have access to the returns made by corporations appears to us absolutely just:

> There are three parties having an interest in such returns—the public, the corporation's stockholders, and the Government. I shall hold that all returns must be open to the proper Government officials, and to the stockholders of the corporation. The public will be given access to the reports listed in any stock exchange, advertised, or in any way offered for general public sale; that is, they will be allowed to see the reports of all stocks in which they have a legitimate interest.

Mr. Taft's views respecting railway rate regulation are those with which the public

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are familiar through previous official and semi-official statements. We do not, however, agree with him that "in the powers given to the Government to fix rates it must be admitted that in our relation to railway corporations we have gone a long way in the direction of State Socialism." We believe, on the contrary, that such railway rate regulation is one of the best possible means of protection against State Socialism. His views on Conservation seem to us to lack definiteness. The only bill that he urges is the one assuring the President's right of withdrawal from settlement of public lands in order to enable Congress to work out the exact details of the best laws possible for the future. He scarcely gives any intimation of what, in his judgment, those laws should be. "I have," he says, "a great sympathy for the feeling of the West and Northwest that the Government should settle this question as soon as possible, in order to permit the development of the resources in the public domain." We agree with him, but we also think it much more important that the question should be settled aright than that it should be settled promptly. Nor do we get any intimation in this article as to whether the President thinks the development of the public domain should be left wholly to private enterprise or whether it should be conducted under the control of the Federal Government for the better securing of the interests of all the people. The country will heartily appreciate and approve of all that he says in favor of such reorganization of the business departments of the Government as will put a stop to duplication of work. The action of the Senate in retaining local pension offices, and the action of Congress in the way in which it has made up the Rivers and Harbors Bill, indicate that such economies cannot be secured unless in some way the President, through the press or otherwise, can create a public sentiment strong enough to overcome personal and private interests.

BLANKET NATURALIZATION

Representative Olmsted, of Pennsylvania, announces a change in the Porto Rican Citizenship Bill which, if incorporated in the bill, should be enough to defeat it. The bill, as originally framed, made it possible for any Porto Ricans, by a process of naturalization, to become citizens if they chose to do so and would take the necessary oath of allegiance to the United States. The change would make them all citizens whether they wish citizenship or not, and whether they are ready to swear allegiance to the United States or not. There are four objections to this proposal: First, it makes them all citizens whether they will or no; second, it makes them all citizens whether they are loyal or disloyal; third, it puts Porto Rico in the line to become first an organized Territory and eventually a State in the Union, and raises hope of this ultimate Statehood in certain Porto Ricans, and Statehood is a consummation very undesirable both for them and for us; fourth, it would very probably deprive the Porto Ricans of a chief portion of their present income. At present all the money collected in the island by Federal taxation is paid back to the Insular Government to be expended in the island. If Porto Rico were made a part of the United States, all money collected in the island would necessarily be paid into the Federal Treasury at Washington to be expended for the National welfare. There is good ground for the belief that if the residents of Porto Rico were by a general law made citizens of the United States, this Act would, *ipso facto*, make Porto Rico part of the United States, which now it is not. As the money collected in Porto Rico by Federal taxation constitutes more than half of the island's income, the island might thus be deprived of it should Congress pass a blanket law making all Porto Ricans citizens of the United States. There are thus four very good reasons why Congress should not accept the change, which is not an amendment, that Mr. Olmsted proposes. We cannot conceive and we have not heard or seen any reason why it should be accepted.

MR. GUGGENHEIM ON CONSERVATION

Conservation properly means two things: prevention of woeful waste and protection of the rights of the public in the public domain. The phrase, "National Conservation," was well defined by Mr. Roosevelt in his speech at Jamestown, Virginia, June 10, 1907, in the sentence,

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"I asked for the legislation necessary to protect the public interest by the conservation of the mineral fuels; that is, for the power to keep the fee in the Government and to lease the coal, oil, and gas rights under proper regulation." A published interview with Mr. Daniel Guggenheim, active head of the Morgan-Guggenheim Alaskan syndicate, indicates that there are powerful interests which do not believe in this conception of Conservation. From this interview we quote a single paragraph: "Let the legislators make up their minds whether the Government should build the railroads or become a partner in the development by demanding royalties, or whether the Government should simply throw open the doors to private capital. The thing to do is to stop talking and to act. To have large undeveloped quantities of gold, silver, lead, copper, tin, zinc, coal, oil, etc., at our very door, and to refuse to avail ourselves promptly of this proffered wealth, is to hold the country back. Why should not this country take advantage of the Alaskan opportunity now?" That upon the issue thus stated Mr. Guggenheim, representing private capital, is of the opinion that Government should simply throw open the doors to private capital; that the most important thing is immediate development of our Alaskan wealth—not the right distribution of it when it is developed—is fairly apparent from the report of this interview. That some of the higher officials in the Interior Department agree with Mr. Guggenheim in this respect is apparent from their testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee. We wish that the country had some better assurance than it now possesses that the President of the United States saw as clearly and believes as earnestly as Mr. Roosevelt that the fee of the mine lands in Alaska should be kept in the Government, and the development of those mineral lands should be carried on under Government regulation and control.

THE LAWLER MEMORANDUM

A correspondent of The Outlook thinks that in one important respect its weekly reports of the Ballinger-Pinchot investigation may leave a false impression on the minds of its readers. He quotes the statement of The Outlook that "Mr. Brandeis has asked that the Attorney-General be requested to furnish the Committee with such memoranda as he had in the preparation of his report, so that Mr. Glavis may know the details of the charges against him, and so that he may know their source. This request the Committee has denied." And our correspondent comments thereon substantially as follows:

Now, as a matter of fact, the report of the Attorney-General was transmitted to the Senate by the President on January 6, 1910, and is printed in Senate Document 248, and may be found on pages 731 to 805 of that document, and shows that it is a summary of the contents of certain definite statements and documents referred to in it, and specifically designated, and all of which are printed in the same document; so that if Mr. Brandeis desired to know the source of the charges against Glavis he had only to consult this summary and then to refer to the documents which accompanied it and which are specified in it. All of these statements and documents are clearly identified, and the summary consists in an effort correctly to summarize the contents of the various papers and their effect upon the charges made by Glavis against Secretary Ballinger and Messrs. Pierce and Dennett. The conclusions drawn from this summary of facts are based upon these definite documents, and the idea that at any time after the date of the transmission of these papers to the Senate Mr. Glavis or his counsel could be in any doubt as to the source of the conclusions reached with respect to him by the Attorney-General is evidently erroneous.

Our readers must remember that in our weekly reports we were compelled to condense into two or three paragraphs testimony occupying in the delivery several days and occupying in printed documents many pages. Of course in such condensation much had to be omitted, and there is always an opportunity for difference of opinion on the question as to the importance of the matter omitted. It would have been clearer if The Outlook had stated explicitly that Senate Document 248 contained statements and documents on which the Attorney-General's opinion was based, and that this Senate Document was admitted as a source of information for the Investigating Committee, and was constantly referred to in the proceedings before that Committee. What Mr. Brandeis wanted was, not these documents and the summary of them, but certain

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notes and memoranda that were before the Attorney-General and were not incorporated in Senate Document 248. Among these was the Lawler memorandum, already referred to in The Outlook, a part of which was incorporated in the President's letter dismissing Mr. Glavis. It is evident that Mr. Brandeis knew of the circumstances of the Lawler memorandum and wanted to bring those circumstances out before the Committee; and what we have said before we repeat here, that the President, by voluntarily putting the facts before the Committee, has done what he could to allay the suspicions naturally excited by the failure on the part of Mr. Ballinger to put before the Committee at the outset, and with entire frankness, all the facts connected with the preparation of the President's letter dismissing Mr. Glavis.

PRESIDENT TAFT'S NEW SECRETARY

For a decade Mr. F. W. Carpenter has been Mr. Taft's private secretary, acting in the Philippines, at the War Department, and in the White House. His recent strenuous duties have proved too much for Mr. Carpenter's health, and he recently resigned to enter the diplomatic service. The President named him as Minister to Morocco, and the Senate promptly confirmed the nomination. Such confirmation is, of course, unnecessary as regards Mr. Carpenter's successor, the appointment being a personal one. The new secretary to the President is to be Mr. Charles Dyer Norton, at present Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Norton is in his fortieth year. He was born at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, and is the son of the Rev. Franklin B. Norton, a Congregational frontier missionary. Like his father, the new secretary is an Amherst graduate. In 1885 Mr. Charles Norton entered the employment of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company. He worked for that company all or part of every year until he went to Washington a year ago. But he graduated from Amherst in 1893. That means that he worked his way through college. During recent years Mr. Norton has been Chairman of the Committee on the City Plan of the Commercial Club of Chicago, a plan explained at length in an illustrated article in The Outlook for August 28, 1909. When Mr. MacVeagh, another Chicagoan, became Secretary of the Treasury, he urged Mr. Norton to become Assistant Secretary, though at a fraction of his former income. In Washington Mr. Norton quickly earned for himself an enviable reputation. His name has been specially connected with three matters. The first regarded economy of administration. The changes inaugurated in the Treasury Department by Mr. Norton have resulted in a lessening of the estimates by $1,700,000 instead of the usual annual increase of $2,000,000. Secondly, Mr. Norton has been prominent in connection with the plan to reorganize the Sub-Treasury system. Thirdly, he has obtained wide recognition in Congress by his report on the Postal Savings Bank Bill, showing what its cost would be; the report was regarded as a particularly painstaking and able document; indeed, the bill's passage through the Senate was largely due to Mr. Norton's counsel. To his new position Mr. Norton carries the confidence of many friends. They believe that in judgment, discretion, and tact he will prove the equal of his predecessors. Certainly the office of secretary to the President is increasingly important, complicated, and difficult. It must necessarily be a kind of meeting-ground for the Administration's political relations and the "I want to know" of the public.

THE DENVER ELECTION

The success won by the Citizens' Party at the Denver election of May 17 was remarkable because of the complexity of issues, the lack of money and close organization among the reformers, and the almost desperate efforts of combined corporations and party machines to carry their point. How complex the election was made, largely by deceptive "fake" proposals for city charter amendments, may be judged from the fact that the official ballot had on it about fifteen thousand printed words. The most important matter at stake was the question of water franchise. The water company asked to have its franchise renewed for twenty years on its own terms; the Citizens' Party proposed

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a non-partisan commission which should in the end take over the water plant and run it for the benefit of the people; finally, the water company complicated the matter by starting secretly an alleged "Business Men's Proposal" to buy the water plant for $14,400,000. The Citizens' Party had few watchers at the polls, and had to contend against a tendency of Republican and Democratic machine workers to unite in each ward on that one of the two regular candidates who had the best chance; nevertheless, it won a complete victory on the water question, and thereby probably prevented the expansion of an eight-million-dollar plant into a corporation capitalized at six times that amount. The second issue of importance related to charter amendments conferring upon Denver's citizens powers of direct legislation in the form of the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. Here, too, the combination of machine politicians and special interests tried to confuse the voters by offering amendments apparently having the same purpose but in point of fact intended to defeat that purpose. On this issue also the reformers carried the day by substantial majorities; and the result is not confined to Denver, for a campaign has already been started by non-partisan leaders to get legislation of the same kind for the State, and thereby to fight all corrupting influences. The city candidates elected were not important in office, but even here, to the surprise of the reformers themselves, they won a decided victory, while the Democratic and Republican machines elected no candidates except those for Aldermen in wards hopelessly dominated by machine politics. The only woman candidate, Miss Ellis Meredith, was chosen a member of the Election Commission, and led the entire ticket in the number of votes received. Finally, the city voted on the question of prohibition and license, and the "drys" were defeated by the "wets" by the very large majority of nearly sixteen thousand; the exact reasons for the defeat of prohibition are not clear, but we judge that the Citizens' Party did not attempt a strong fight on this point. A correspondent writes us from Denver that the church people and the women were as generally divided as other elements in the community, and quotes a well-known business man as saying: "There are eight men in my office. Six of them are regular church members and two of them are not. The six church members voted 'wet.' The two non-church members voted 'dry.'" It is alleged that some of the most effective workers for the saloon were women who accepted money from a large so-called "slush fund;" but the Citizens' Party was actively aided by the women's Public Service League and, we are told, by most of the woman suffrage leaders, as well as by religious and philanthropic societies in which women are interested. The total result of the Denver election is a great triumph for an intelligent electorate and a great blow to corrupt control of the city by corporate interests. At the celebration held by the reform forces after the election the speakers declared that Denver had changed in a night from one of the worst corporation-ridden communities in the United States to one of the freest, and that reforms that the citizens had for twenty years fought for in Denver were obtained for the first time at this election. It is generally conceded that the victory is due to an aroused interest among the people through the exceptional educational campaign that has been carried on in Denver during the last year, and the bitter indignation that has been aroused through the exposure of public wrong-doing. The voters were called on to rebuke "Lindsey and his muck-raking crew." Judge Lindsey is entitled to a very large part of the credit for the Denver election, and the result is in effect an indorsement of his long fight for fairness and justice.

THE ILLINOIS BRIBERY SCANDALS

Illinois now is the center of bribery scandals more sensational in their nature than those recently aired in the New York Legislature or in the city of Pittsburgh. Besides involving corruption in matters of legislation, the charges, supported by four confessions, hold that bribery was used to make William Lorimer United States Senator. About a year ago Mr. Lorimer was chosen Senator, after a prolonged deadlock, by a bi-partisan combination of fifty-five Republicans and fifty-three Democrats. On April 30 of this

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year the Chicago "Tribune" published a confession by Mr. Charles A. White, a Democratic member of the Legislature, in which Mr. White said he had been paid a bribe of $1,000 by Mr. Lee O'Neil Browne, leader of the Democrats in the lower house of the Legislature, to vote for Lorimer for Senator. The payment, according to Mr. White, was made in Chicago. Mr. White further confessed that he was paid $900 in a hotel in St. Louis by Mr. Robert E. Wilson, of Chicago, another Democratic member of the Legislature, as his share of the "jack-pot," the name used to describe the fund out of which members were paid who voted together in support of the programme of action favored by the leaders of the corrupt combination. Using White's confession as a basis, State's Attorney Wayman called in other members of the Legislature implicated, after which he announced that he had secured corroborative confessions. Mr. Browne was indicted by the Cook County Grand Jury for paying Mr. White a bribe to vote for Lorimer for Senator. Mr. Wilson was indicted for perjury for denying that he had paid bribes to members of the Illinois Legislature at a hotel in St. Louis, as charged in the White confession. This was the state of the record in the case when Senator Lorimer, on May 28, addressed the United States Senate on the subject at great length, denying that his seat had been secured by dishonorable means. Senator Lorimer contended that the White confession was a falsification, and said the Chicago "Tribune" and Governor Deneen were in a conspiracy to discredit him. The affair was given a melodramatic aspect from the fact that the most startling confession of all was being secured at the very time when Mr. Lorimer was addressing the Senate and declaring himself the innocent victim of a conspiracy. State's Attorney Burke, of Sangamon County, in which the State Capitol is located, had started to investigate ugly rumors of corruption in connection with the purchase of furniture for the State House. One of the men under suspicion in this connection was State Senator D. W. Holstlaw. Mr. Holstlaw was caught in misstatements before the Grand Jury and indicted for perjury. Thereupon he broke down and confessed his part in the furniture deal. He went further and said he had been paid by another State Senator $2,500 to vote for Lorimer for Senator, and had been given $700 as his share of the Senate "jack-pot."

IS BRIBERY A CRIME?

The trial of Mr. Lee O'Neil Browne on the charge of paying Representative White $1,000 to vote for Lorimer for Senator, now under way, is responsible for some most remarkable legal contentions on the part of the lawyers for the defense. These lawyers seriously argued to the trial court that bribery in connection with the election of Senators is not a crime punishable by law. The members of the State Legislature, while sitting in joint session for the purpose of choosing a Senator, it was claimed, were acting as agents of the United States, and not of the State of Illinois. Therefore the laws of the State of Illinois directed against bribery are not applicable to the case, and as Congress has not legislated on the subject, no criminal offense has been committed. Judge McSurely, of the trial court, on Wednesday of last week ruled against this view of the case, refused to quash the indictment, and ordered the work of impaneling a jury to be begun on Monday of this week. It is evident, however, that the lawyers for the defense intend to carry to the higher courts, if necessary, their contention that bribery in connection with the election of a Senator is no crime!

THE VICTORY OF THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTIONISTS

The forces of President Madriz have sustained a severe defeat near Bluefields at the hands of President Estrada's army. We give each of the opposing leaders the title President, because each claims it, and each seems to have complete control in his own part of the country—Estrada in the east, Madriz in the west, including the capital. The truth is that physically Nicaragua is divided into two sections by mountain and morass, and neither of the contending forces appears to have the ability to penetrate into the enemy's country and inflict a crushing defeat. This is an unfortunate condition as regards the outlook for future peace and foreign commercial

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interests. The defeat of Madriz last week seems to have been complete; his army under General Lara (a Honduran, by the way) is in retreat, and some reports say has been actually dispersed and put to rout. The fighting was severe; according to one account, some two hundred of Lara's soldiers were killed by a terrific mine explosion planned by a young American soldier of fortune. Madriz's forces will undoubtly retire to Managua, but it is more than doubtful whether Estrada can pursue and defeat his enemies in their own country. The United States through its naval force at Bluefields has taken a firm stand to prevent shelling of the town or bombarding across the town (which would put the place itself in danger), and also has forbidden the naval force of Madriz, consisting of one little gunboat, to search American vessels. Every indication is that the course of the United States at Washington and at Bluefields has been sound in international law and dictated by the interests of humanity. What seems to be a semi-official declaration given out to the press in Washington after the battle of last week declares that the United States has no present intention of assuming a protectorate over Nicaragua or in any way intervening or recognizing either party to the controversy until one faction or the other has obtained full control of the country and machinery of the government by the consent of the people, and is in a position to meet national and international obligations. Madriz is regarded by a large element in Nicaragua as a second Zelaya, and his rule is vehemently opposed by the revolutionists. It has been suggested that the only acceptable outcome of the difficult situation now existing would be the free and fair election of a new President; but how such an election could be made free and fair is hard to tell; one plan advocated is that the United States should be appealed to by both parties to conduct an election and enforce the verdict of the people.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES DISPUTE

Last week proceedings were begun before the Hague Court of Arbitration to deal with the Newfoundland fisheries question between Great Britain and the United States. The question dates back to the Anglo-American Treaty of 1818. By that treaty we secured an unrestricted enjoyment of the deep-sea fisheries on the Atlantic north of our boundaries and renounced the inshore fisheries except on certain coasts. For instance, we were granted the liberty to fish on equal terms with British subjects on the west coast of Newfoundland. But complications arose. Among others, two are specially noteworthy. The first concerns persons; the second concerns the coast. The privileges conferred on us by the treaty were given to the "inhabitants" of the United States. What is an inhabitant? The Newfoundland Government holds that no fisherman may be thus considered unless he is a genuine inhabitant of our Republic, residing in this country, and shipping from American ports. Our Government, on the other hand, contends that the designation should be construed more liberally. The second problem concerns the use of the word "coast" in the treaty. According to the contention of the Newfoundland and Canadian Governments, the coast line, within which Americans may not fish, should be along a line, not following the sinuosities of the edge of the land, as the American Government claims, but drawn from outer headland to outer headland, no matter how wide the inclosed bays may be. In the olden days our fishing vessels were seized for fishing in the Bay of Fundy—sixty miles wide! The determination of this latter question may be specially interesting, as certain of the counsel on either side were also members of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, before which a similar question was presented.

THE SPANISH ELECTIONS

The recent French elections have been followed by those in Spain. But what a difference! The Peninsula has never witnessed electoral results other than the confirmation by an overwhelming majority of the particular political hue of the Ministry in power: conservative when the Ministry is conservative, liberal when the Ministry is liberal, and, as in the present instance, radical when the Ministry is radical. The cause of this is not hard to find. Spain has a shockingly large proportion of people

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who can neither read nor write. Most of these are country folk. They are completely docile to nefarious administration influence as exercised by the army of Government officials under the Cabinet's control. The great majority which for the moment upholds Señor Canelajas, the Radical Premier, will, however, be difficult to manage. It is not a solidarity. It is split into Moderate, Liberal, Radical, Republican, and other factions, each with an ambitious leader coveting the Premiership. The coming session of the Cortés, or parliament, promises to be particularly interesting because of the increase of the Republicans. Of the eight Deputies representing Madrid, the capital, six are Republicans, the best known being Señor Pérez Galdós, the novelist, sometimes called "the Walter Scott of Spain." For the first time the Cortés now includes a Socialist, Señor Pablo Iglesias, a strong and not uninfluential personality. The contagious example of France in dealing with the problem of Church and State has doubtless determined some of the trend towards republicanism in Spain, dominated as is hardly any other country by clericalism. The principle laid down by Cavour of "a free Church in a free State" may be increasingly adhered to in France and Italy, but its progress in a land of inveterate prejudice like Spain must necessarily be slow. That, however, does not mean that progress there is impossible. If we had no other proof, the present product of Spanish literature would suffice.

LORD GLADSTONE AND SOUTH AFRICA

Recently, on the occasion of the anniversary of Empire Day, King George V issued a message to the colonies. He referred to his previous visits to the various British possessions, promised to follow in his father's footsteps, to uphold constitutional government, and to safeguard the liberties of the colonial empire. In particular, he spoke of his intended visit with Queen Mary to South Africa, a journey now necessarily abandoned. The occasion for the proposed visit was the final act in perhaps the most important accomplishment of King Edward's reign, namely, the bringing of peace and order out of chaos in South Africa and the welding together of the four principal colonies there into one great self-governing state with a common parliament. As Governor-General of United South Africa, the late King chose Mr. Herbert Gladstone, then Home Secretary, and, to add dignity to the office, induced Mr. Gladstone to accept a peerage. This was the more interesting because Mr. Gladstone's father had repeatedly declined a peerage. The son now becomes Viscount Gladstone of Lanark. The assumption of the name Lanark is doubtless due to the fact that the first of Mr. Gladstone's ancestors of whom there is record was Herbert de Gledestan, of the County of Lanark, one of the signers of that "Ragman's Roll" which acknowledged the sovereignty of Edward I over Scotland. But there is another contrast, this time not one of title. William Ewart Gladstone's connection with South Africa was chiefly marked by his negotiations of surrender to the Boers after the battle of Majuba Hill. When that took place, his opponents dubbed Mr. Gladstone a "Little Englander." In comparison, Gladstone, the son, is a Liberal, but a Liberal Imperialist. He becomes practically the Viceroy of United South Africa, and has now sailed thither to maintain a renewed and intensified British sovereignty. Hardly less interesting than Viscount Gladstone's appointment is the summoning of General Louis Botha, at present Premier of the Transvaal Colony, to form the first Union Ministry Cabinet. The Transvaal forms one of the four component parts of United South Africa. The others are the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, and the Orange River Colony. Each province will have its own Council, consisting of as many members as the province is entitled to send to the Union Parliament. The latter will consist of an upper and lower house, to be called the Senate and the House of Assembly, and will be the general legislative body for United South Africa. Its seat will be at Cape Town, but the seat of the executive government will be at Pretoria. Thus both British and Boer interests have been dignified and favored. The result is peace, union, and progress.

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THE PRESBYTERIAN ASSEMBLY

The one hundred and twenty-second meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Northern) convened this year at Atlantic City, New Jersey. Dr. Charles Little, now for forty years pastor of the church in Wabash, Indiana, was chosen Moderator. The rest which the Assembly has had since 1900 from theological controversy was broken this year by a recrudescence of the chronic issue between strong conservatives in the New York Presbytery and progressive theologians in Union Seminary, which, in the cases of Professors Briggs and McGiffert, was an apple of discord among Presbyterians during the preceding decade. Three seminary graduates, having been twice examined, were approved by a majority vote of the Presbytery as candidates for the ministry. From this decision the minority appealed to the Synod of New York. When this body sustained the Presbytery, the case was carried up to the Assembly. The appellants had pronounced all three of the young men unsound on various doctrines, but their complaint to the Assembly concentrated on Mr. Archibald Black, brother of Professor Hugh Black, and now a pastor in New York, as confessedly agnostic concerning the virgin birth of Christ. The Synod was also charged with disregarding the frequent injunctions of the Assembly to maintain conformity to the doctrinal standards of the Church. The case was referred to the permanent Judicial Commission. A statement that there were thirteen directors and seven professors of Union Seminary whose influence at times prevailed in the Presbytery seemed to point to the chief quarry of the prosecutors when they demanded that the Presbytery be censured. After a five days' hearing, in which the Commission commended both sides for their brotherly spirit, the Commission unanimously adjudged "that the complaint against the Synod be not sustained." They found it not proven "that the candidates named have, in fact, denied or seriously questioned these doctrines." But "the complainants are right in attaching the greatest importance" to the doctrines alleged to have been denied, viz., "the inspiration and supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures, the virgin birth of our Lord, the truth of St. John's account of the raising of Lazarus from the dead, and the actual bodily resurrection of Christ." "Such wide departures from the faith, if allowed, . . . would destroy historic Christianity in all the Protestant Evangelical churches throughout the world." This the Presbytery had not allowed, but its "ordaining two of the three candidates against the strong protest of so considerable a minority was unwise, and not for the edification of the Church." Finally, all Presbyteries should be enjoined to use great care that none be admitted to the ministry but men "in full harmony with the Word of God as interpreted by our standards." Read in the tense silence of a great audience, this report was forthwith unanimously adopted, with evident satisfaction at a happy escape from the return of a troublous time.

CONCERNING SOCIAL QUESTIONS

The Assembly's interest in the various phases of the labor problem was strongly attested. It drew the largest meeting of the week, attended by a great rally of labor unions. The main theme of the vigorous addresses made was the conservation of life from the present homicidal conditions of industry. Subsequently to this the Assembly adopted a declaration concerning the relation of the Church, not to industry only, but to the present economic order in general. In substance it reaffirmed all the positions lately taken by the Federal Council of Churches upon the duty of applying the principles of Jesus to questions concerning wealth and poverty, work and wages, living conditions as related to health and life, and the treatment of dependents, defectives, and criminals. No one who reads this declaration can say that the Church has not fully confessed its duties and responsibilities toward the grave social problems of this time. Another noteworthy utterance dealt with the temperance question. A somewhat tumultuous discussion resulted in the adoption by a large majority vote of a resolution which seems practically to commit the Assembly to the attitude of the prohibitionists. It declared against "any form of license"—thus opposing the local option method—"to the end that this

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traffic may by organic law [*i. e.*, by Constitutional amendment] be expelled from the land." The Assembly also adopted by a standing vote, after an address by Mr. Simon Wolff, a Jew, a resolution of sympathy with the persecuted Jews of Russia, condemning the inhumanities perpetrated by the Russian Government as "an offense to the conscience of Christendom." A worthy example to all churches was set by a resolution to raise to $6,000,000 the present endowment fund of $2,000,000 for the relief of indigent ministers and their families. This was emphasized by providing for a black list of non-contributing churches as subjects for public censure. A fund of $200,000 has been bequeathed by the late John H. Converse, of Philadelphia, for the endowment of the evangelistic work carried on by Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman. Among the social questions pronounced upon, the Assembly resolved that the penalty put upon murder should be imposed on the white slave traffic. A Federal law defines the slave trade as a form of piracy, and subjects the offender to capital punishment. Under this law a ship captain was convicted in New York in 1861, and was hanged under warrant of President Lincoln.

A FORTY YEARS' PASTORATE

A church that has had but one minister during its life of forty years, while its pastor has had but one charge during his forty years of ministry, may well think the completion of these twoscore years worthy of recognition. Dr. Amory H. Bradford, of the First Congregational Church in Montclair, New Jersey, has been known and loved by a very wide circle beyond his own church and town; and the readers of The Outlook especially will desire to join in the anniversary congratulation because very many of them will remember that Dr. Bradford was for several years associated with the editorial work of this journal, both as the conductor of a department of religious intelligence and as a frequent contributor. Last week exercises of a historic and personal kind were held in Montclair, and on Sunday of this week, the exact anniversary of the union of church and pastor, Dr. Washington Gladden conducted special services. Dr. Bradford has, in addition to his journalistic, literary, and pastoral work, served as Moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches, as delegate to the International Council in London, as President of the American Missionary Association, and in many other important offices. His books, among which may be mentioned especially "The Ascent of the Soul" and "Heredity and Christian Problems," have found sympathetic readers in large numbers. In his own town, and in State and Nation also, Dr. Bradford has been an influence and a force for right living, civic integrity, and high patriotism. He has always had strong convictions, has uttered them plainly and clearly, but has never scolded or fumed from pulpit or platform. Gentleness of manner and strength of purpose have united effectively in his work and in his personality.

THE NEW VIEW OF CHARITY

Again this year the annual meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction at St. Louis, from May 19 to May 26, gave striking evidence of the new view of charity which has permeated civic, charitable, and correctional work in the United States. Over one thousand delegates from all sections of the country gathered, not so much to listen to accounts of methods of treatment of prisoners, almshouse inmates, orphans, defectives, and the other classes whose conditions have in past years attracted so much attention, but rather to listen to and discuss such underlying questions as State provision for insanity, civil service, factory inspection, industrial diseases, the school and the community, the interrelation of social movements, ten years of the juvenile court, the message of the lawmaker to the lawbreaker, occupational standards, hospital social service, and a score of kindred subjects. In short, the National Conference has come to be a forum for the discussion of the causes of poverty rather than a clinic for the discussion of the treatment of the results of those causes. From the opening meeting, at which Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago, in her presidential address made a plea for industrial and social justice, until the last

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evening, when she handed the presidential gavel to Homer Folks, of New York, the theme was the correlation and the co-operation of workers in all civic and charitable fields, to the end that the day may come when charity will have dissolved into justice. The Conference is steadily progressing in the direction of considering the great group as a unit rather than an individual poverty-stricken person. At a brilliant evening meeting a half-dozen representatives of leading civic and charitable National organizations outlined plans for a far larger co-ordination of their work with that of individual local societies working for the betterment of social conditions. The Child Labor Committee, the Playground Association, the National Tuberculosis Committee (to cite three of the number) have obviously reached a stage where National and local efforts for the cure and prevention of poverty can be aligned against a common enemy. In this connection the Conference was remarkable for the sudden yet vigorous development of several National movements. The National Association of Probation Officers met occasionally before and during Conference week, strengthening their work by technical discussions. The National Housing Association came full-formed into life under the leadership of Lawrence Veiller, of New York. This Association plans to continue for the United States the efforts for tenement-house betterment which ten years of experience in New York City have proved efficacious. The charity organization societies of the United States, numbering now over two hundred, formed tentatively a National association for systematizing those sides of their work which are interrelated. The interest in the question of vagrancy was renewed in several conferences, and the need of a National association for its reduction and prevention emphasized. The National Conference of Jewish Social Workers met for several days prior to the Conference. Throughout the Conference the speakers and those who led in discussions emphasized the absolute necessity of trustworthy facts as the basis of action. The social surveys, conducted first in Pittsburgh and later on smaller scales in other cities, have set a standard which will inevitably be followed in future investigations. In short, the Conference has rapidly progressed toward the point of seeking to view the life of the poor, and to view it "whole." The so-called "court-plaster age" of the treatment of poverty is rapidly vanishing. The Conference becomes each year more fearless as a forum for the discussion of human life, with increasing recognition of the fact that the lives of the poor and the lives of all are inseparably connected. The next Conference will meet in Boston in June, 1911.

CITY PLANNING AND URBAN CONGESTION

The phrase "city planning," although but recently introduced into common use, has already been given an enlarged meaning. At first it included only plans relating to the physical side of the city's development, but the discussions at the Rochester Conference on City Planning recently showed that it has now come to mean not only this, but far more. It includes planning for the intellectual and the moral, the industrial, the commercial, and the economic development of the city, as well as the physical. Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., in opening the Conference, outlined three divisions of the subject, which in the main were observed in the programme: The first concerns circulation; the treatment of the spaces devoted to streets, railways, waterways, and all means of transportation and communication. The second main division includes public properties. The third consists of all that remains in private ownership, which is subject to public control in several ways. Naturally, the question of congestion came in for very considerable attention, and there was a diversity of views that was most illuminating and showed the value of such a conference among workers in the field. Mr. Lawrence Veiller, the Secretary of the new National Housing Association, advanced the view that there can be no hard and fast rule as to the number of people living on a given area, because so many conditions enter into the question of proper housing. He laid stress, however, on the fact that the overcrowding in foreign quarters of large cities is due to the desire for wealth. The foreigner comes to America as the "land of prom-

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ise," and for at least the first ten years dreams of going back to his fatherland wealthy, so he denies himself proper housing in order that he may save more money. This difficulty can be done away with by instilling into the minds of these foreigners higher ideals. Dr. Marsh, on the other hand, maintained that the causes of congestion of population were economic and administrative, and largely the outcome of a system of *laissez faire*, and that to the extent to which the causes of congestion are economic the remedies must be economic, in so far as the causes are administrative they must be prevented by administrative measures, and, " since congestion is primarily the result of protected privilege and exploitation, the police power of the State must be extended and enlarged to deal with those whose exploitation is in any way responsible for the evil of congestion, with all the human suffering, physical deterioration, and moral danger which congestion promotes and connotes." Following this suggestion Dr. Frederic C. Howe declared his conviction that the problems of the orderly and symmetrical building of cities and the housing of urban population can be solved most easily and most thoroughly through the taxation of land values. The taxation of land values means, he said, " the abandonment of all taxes now levied against houses, buildings, improvements of all kinds, machinery, goods, stock in trade, and personal property of every kind and description, and the dropping of all local taxes on the value of the land. I do not mean that we shall tax land, but rather the rental value of land. In other words, that all the revenues of the city shall be taken from the ground or land rent as it is commonly done by private individuals, under the ground rent system, in the business centers of our large cities." In connection with the Rochester Conference it is interesting to note that arrangements are now going forward for the ninth International Housing Congress, to be held at Vienna this year. Among the subjects to be considered at the Vienna Congress are town planning, house-building, the cottage *versus* the block, cost of dwellings, the land question, housing inspection, housing finance, and taxation. That the advanced civic workers of the Old World and the New World are considering this whole problem of the city plan, and are approaching it from substantially the same point of view, affords an indication of the progress of the past decade. So, too, does the growing literature on the subject. Within the year there have been published two important books: one on " Town Planning," by H. Inigo Triggs, the other on " Town Planning in Practice," by Raymond Unwin. On April 1 the first issue of the " Town Planning Review " made its appearance, under the auspices of the University of Liverpool.

THE VALUE OF ART TO THE NATION

A year ago the American Federation of Arts was formed. Its purpose is to unite art workers, to initiate new art efforts, and to prevent their duplication. During the past year it has served as a general clearing-house for art information; it has influenced legislation affecting art; it has published a monthly illustrated magazine, " Art and Progress;" it has circulated typewritten illustrated lectures in small towns where authoritative lecturers could not be secured; it has also sent out exhibitions of paintings to various distant points in a number of States. Its head office is at Washington, and last week, in that city, the Federation's first annual meeting was attended by representatives of nearly a hundred affiliated art societies, museums, civic improvement associations, schools, and universities. The result of this meeting has been a deepened appreciation, by those in attendance and by those who have read extracts from the addresses delivered there, of the increasing value of art to the Nation. In his address of welcome the Hon. Franklin MacVeagh, Secretary of the Treasury, emphasized this. Our Federal legislators, as Senator Newlands admitted, lag far behind the people in appreciating art. Hence, whenever any art project comes before Congress, steps should be taken to bring the weight of public opinion to bear upon our Federal legislators through their constituents. In Statuary Hall at the Capitol they have a continual witness of the ill-judged selection of works of art and the result of perverting a good intention. Perhaps the most signal develop-

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ment of Government-influenced art, however, has been by municipal legislation and municipalities. The work of the New York City Art Commission is much more than "the thin slice where a loaf of bread was expected." What has been accomplished in municipal art, as well as the need for further effort, was well set forth in an address by Mr. J. Horace McFarland, President of the American Civic Association. Now, turning from legislators to educators, the value of art to the Nation would, we think, be more evident, especially in our professional art schools, if they heeded the warning given at the meeting by Mr. George de Forest Brush, the well-known painter. In his address he stoutly and justly insisted that it was all wrong to surround students of art with ugliness, to give them imperfect models and homely objects from which to copy, and then expect from them anything like beauty in the product. Art, as he well said, has fundamentally to do with beauty. Why should we turn aside from it in the attempt to manufacture originality? For inspiration one must go to the foundation source. Not only professional but primary educators can awaken the Nation's art consciousness. It was doubtless a surprise to many in the Convention, and will be to many more, to learn, as Dr. James Parton Haney, Director of Art in the New York City Schools, declared, that even the elementary teaching of manual training is now making art a vital subject, a force entering into every phase of daily life.

THE WIZARDS OF THE AIR

Last week was a busy one in the air. On Thursday Captain Charles Stewart Rolls, in a Wright aeroplane, flew across the English Channel and back without alighting. The round trip of forty-two miles was made, without accident or incident, in an hour and a half. The Channel has been crossed by air twice before—by Louis Blériot in July of last year, and by Count Jacques de Lesseps three weeks ago—but this is the first time that the return journey has been attempted. The same day three aviators were giving some interesting exhibitions of flying on Long Island. Charles K. Hamilton, in particular, in a Curtiss biplane performed astonishing evolutions. A newspaper account of his performances describes him as indulging in "swoops, glides, darts, figure-eighting, and cross-country dashes," as "literally capering up and down in the air around his two companions." "For about thirty minutes," says the observer, "three aeroplanes were in the air at the same time. But Hamilton rose three times as high as the others and went twice as fast. He dropped from an altitude of six hundred feet, front rudder pointed almost straight to earth, his motor turned on at full speed, and just when the spectators were beginning to think they would see a sickening sight he changed the front rudder and flew away again, having missed the ground by only twenty feet." Hamilton ended by going off cross-country in search of one of his companion aviators who had flown to the north and had not returned. Twice Hamilton came to earth where he thought he might find his companion and twice he rose again into the air, starting his machine without assistance—an operation which seems never to have been done with an aeroplane before. But the most striking achievement of the week was the flight of Glenn H. Curtiss from Albany to New York City, with only one stop, at Poughkeepsie. The distance is one hundred and fifty miles and the actual flying time of Mr. Curtiss was two hours and forty-six minutes. The aviator, who uses a biplane of his own invention and construction, left Albany at three minutes past seven on Sunday morning. An hour and twenty minutes later he landed a few miles below Poughkeepsie in order to refill his gasoline tank. He stayed there an hour and then started south again. A little over an hour later he reached the northern limits of New York City, and came to the ground at Inwood. After replenishing his supply of lubricating oil he again rose and flew to Governor's Island, where he arrived at noon. The average speed of the flight was slightly over fifty-four miles an hour, which means that he covered a mile every sixty-six seconds. Mr. Curtiss's achievement was made in an attempt to win the prize of ten thousand dollars offered by the New York "World" for the first flight by aeroplane

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from Albany to New York, made within twenty-four hours and without more than two landings. The success of the attempt, which was completed within five hours and with only one stop (for his feat was officially accomplished when he landed within the boundary line of the city), was overwhelming. Mr. Curtiss's feat fairly rivals the flight of Louis Paulhan, the French aviator, from London to Manchester, a month ago. Paulhan flew one hundred and eighty-five miles, but the journey was broken by a stop of eight hours, during which he had the advantage of a short night's rest. The noteworthy thing about these accomplishments of French, English, and American aviators is not the speed, wonderful as that is. It is the fact that they have such control over their machines that they can start from a given point and fly to another given point, if not exactly on schedule time at least in perfect accord with a preconceived plan. Mr. Curtiss, for instance, had determined that he would make one stop on his journey, at Poughkeepsie, and had arranged for supplies of gasoline to be ready for him there, and for his machinist, who was on the special train which attempted to keep pace with the aeroplane, to meet him there, in case of possible contingencies. Men are getting to the point where, within certain limits, they can do what they want with their aeroplanes. It would be a bold prophet, therefore, who should predict the bounds beyond which aerial flight shall not go even in the near future.

SLAVERY EMANCIPATION IN CHINA

A very notable event has occurred in China. By Imperial rescript the Chinese Government has abolished slavery throughout the Empire. The rescript's main provision and most sweeping reform is the prohibition under any pretext of the purchase or sale of human beings. But the general reform is far from being complete. Certain forms of slavery are still to be tolerated. As might be expected, the law favors the Manchus, the ruling class, not the Chinese proper. In any event, the Chinese have never countenanced slavery as have the Manchus and Mongols. The rescript does not emancipate the retainers of Manchu princes, but it is forbidden to call them slaves. They have long enjoyed educational and other privileges, although still bound to their hereditary masters. Whether this provision includes the eunuchs the rescript does not say; several thousand of them are supposed to be still in the Peking palaces. Again, while the household slaves of the Chinese are to be emancipated, the slaves of the Manchus are not, but, like that of the retainers, their status will be improved. They are to be regarded as hired servants. But as their service is due for an unlimited term of years, they are in reality perpetual slaves. The practice of selling children in China in times of famine is abolished, although they may be bound for a specified term, but never beyond the age of twenty-five years. Unfortunately, concubinage is still to be permitted, but there is to be no bargain and sale. Concubines are to be married with proper legal formalities. They will continue to enjoy the protection of the law, but in reality they will be hardly better than perpetual slaves to the principal wife. While the rescript is thus a compromise measure, it marks an advance in Chinese civilization.

IDAHO VS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The State of Idaho is again in unrest. Its Senators at Washington have been reflecting the unrest. The occasion was the recent debate on the Agricultural Appropriation Bill in general, and the Forest Service part of it in particular. The Forest Service was attacked on two grounds—first, because National forests include school sections, and, second, because the forests include agricultural lands. The Idaho people contend that the school sections of those lands ought to be theirs. They say: "We went West as pioneers. We settled in Idaho, supposing that the Federal Government would be as liberal to us as it was to the other Territories, now States. In 1890 our Territory became a State. About the same time the Federal Government began its present aggressive forestry policy. To create National forests, vast tracts of the public domain were taken away from our settlers. These forests cover three-eighths of our State. But this is not the worst. We are cheated out of lands the revenue from

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which was guaranteed to us. The Federal Goverment has aided State education by giving to a Territory, when it becomes a State, Sections 16 and 36 in each township on the public domain. We claim (and our State Supreme Court has just approved it) that we became the owners of these sections, whether surveyed or unsurveyed. 'No,' says the Federal Government, by the decision of Secretary Garfield, confirmed by Secretary Ballinger, 'you cannot have title until the sections are surveyed.' The school sections, merged in the National forests, are thus lost to us because administered as part of a Federal, not a State, system. The Federal Government, it is true, allows us to offset the expected revenue by selecting elsewhere on the public domain an area equal to that of the school sections. But suppose we find no such revenue-producing area, we are cheated. We are cheated again, in being deprived of hundreds of thousands of acres of agricultural lands included within the National forests, though the Federal Government had no authority to put anything but timber lands in forest reserves." The Federal Government is not unmindful of these complaints. The school sections question comes in the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior over the passage of title to public lands. The Federal Government is, of course, acting on the Department's decisions. Congress, however, can, if it choose, enact some measure of relief, if not of an actual grant of all the school sections, then, as Mr. Pinchot suggests, of a right to some more advantageous form of indemnity selection, or even of exchange for a solid body of present National forest land. As to National forests, they were established over so large a part of Idaho because most of the State consists of a forested watershed. In this establishment there was no time to make detailed surveys. It was necessary to act quickly if public interests were to be conserved. Hence some agricultural lands were inadvertently included. Where these have been found they have been eliminated to the extent of many thousand acres. If others are still included, we may expect their exclusion too. For the Forest Service exists not only for the benefit of the Federal Government, but also for that of Idaho home-makers.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S GUILDHALL SPEECH

On June 1 Mr. Roosevelt was formally given the freedom of the City of London in a notable ceremonial at Guildhall. He used the freedom then and there in delivering an address which has set Europe and America a-talking. His spirit in the address is indicated by the following sentences from his introduction: "I shall not try to make you any address of mere thanks, still less of mere eulogy. I prefer to speak, and I know you would prefer to have me speak, of matters of real concern to you, as to which I happen at this moment to possess some first-hand knowledge, for recently I traversed certain portions of the British Empire under conditions which made me intimately cognizant of their circumstances and needs."

The address has been variously taken by different sections of the English press. It was, so to speak, welcomed in advance by the London "Spectator" in the following words: "We sincerely hope that, owing to the conditions of national mourning under which Mr. Roosevelt has visited us, we shall not be deprived of one of those plain-spoken addresses such as he has often given his own countrymen. It would be a thousand pities if Mr. Roosevelt should leave us without speaking to the English people, and speaking quite plainly what he has to say of them and their work here and abroad. We do not know whether the private character which the function at the Guildhall has now assumed will allow of a speech from the man who is to be honored with the freedom of the city. If not, then assuredly some other opportunity can and ought to be found before Mr. Roosevelt leaves us." We judge that the spirit of combined surprise and appreciation in which the speech will be regarded by most non-partisan Englishmen is fairly indicated by the following sentences from the "Daily Chronicle," which is regarded as the organ of moderate Liberalism: "The performance is unique, and can hardly be recommended for general imitation. It will not be much resented, however. We are a very tolerant folk, our tolerance being perhaps established on a very good conceit of ourselves. We fancy we know as much as

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other nations about the way to administer dependencies or protectorates, and we do not mind when a friendly visitor gives his frank opinion to the contrary."

Beginning with warm praise for the work of Great Britain in East Africa, Uganda, and the Sudan, Mr. Roosevelt stated very clearly and very tersely the alternative which conditions in Egypt put before the people of England:

> It was with the primary object of establishing order that you went into Egypt twenty-eight years ago. . . . Now, either you have a right to be in Egypt or you have not. Either it is or it is not your duty to establish and keep order.
>
> If you feel that you have not the right to be in Egypt, if you do not wish to establish and keep order there, then by all means get out of Egypt. If, as I hope, you feel that your duty to civilized mankind and your fealty to your own great traditions alike bid you to stay, then make the fact and the name agree and show that you are ready to meet the responsibility which is yours.
>
> It is the thing, not the form, which is vital. If the present forms of government in Egypt established by you, in the hope that they would help the Egyptians upward, merely serve to provoke and permit disorder, then it is for you to alter the forms; for if you stay in Egypt it is your first duty to keep order—above all, to punish murder and bring to justice all who incite others to commit murder or condone crime when it is committed.

The Outlook believes that this utterance was true in its content and was appropriate to the occasion. What if it did "outrage every conventional canon of official and international propriety"? If so, it is high time the old canons were abolished and new ones substituted. Small talk is bad at the best; small talk on a great occasion from a great leader to an audience of great leaders ought to be insufferable. It has been suffered too long. To substitute for complimentary platitudes plain, direct, straightforward speech, to give to kinsfolk fresh information on a subject vital to their national honor, to enable them to see themselves as others see them, and to do this in no captious or carping spirit, but in one of absolute but perfectly candid friendship, may be a surprising innovation, but it is one to be greatly admired and, in the future, let us hope, generally followed. If Alexis de Tocqueville and James Bryce may give to Americans a candid and kindly criticism on their government in books, why not in speeches? It is a mistake to suppose that such frankness has any tendency to produce international ill-feeling between the two countries. The reverse is the case. Its effect will be to make more evident the friendship between the two countries which now exists, and to strengthen the fellowship between them. "So far as the question of international propriety is concerned," says the "Daily Chronicle," "we may take Roosevelt's outspokenness as a compliment to Anglo-American solidarity." But it is more than a compliment to that solidarity; it gives to that solidarity added strength.

And as the occasion was apt, so the utterance was as vitally true as it was simple. The first duty of government is to govern; and to govern is to compel obedience to law, to preserve order, to punish crime. The first duty of the parent is to compel obedience in his child; the first duty of the State is to compel obedience in the citizen. The first word of Jehovah to Israel puts the emphasis of the religion of Judaism upon obedience. "If ye will obey my voice, . . . ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests." The climax of the first reported sermon of Jesus Christ puts the emphasis of the religion of Christianity on the same duty. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." Religion, the home, political science, unite in affirming that obedience is the first duty of those who are under authority, and the enforcement of obedience is the first duty of those who are in authority. This is equally our duty in the Philippines and England's duty in Egypt. There is something to be said for governing a dependent people by a nation that is stronger and more advanced; and there is something to be said, perhaps, for leaving them without government to blunder their way up to ordered liberty; but there is absolutely nothing to be said for pretending to govern without governing.

We pass no judgment here on the justice of Mr. Roosevelt's implied strictures on the failure of the British Government to punish crime and preserve order with a strong hand in Egypt. We judge from English papers that there is no reasonable

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doubt that these strictures were deserved. But here we are only concerned to affirm our conviction that Mr. Roosevelt uttered absolute truth in his Guildhall speech, and took an appropriate time to utter it; and that in that utterance there was nothing inconsistent with his accompanying declaration: "I speak not only as an American, but as a radical, a real and not a mock democrat, who feels that his first thought is bound to be for the welfare of the masses of mankind, his first duty to war against violence, injustice, and wrong-doing wherever found."

THE BALLINGER CASE

A REVIEW

Last January a Congressional Committee was appointed to investigate the Interior Department and the Bureau of Forestry. The investigation has continued for four months; the testimony and documents submitted to the Committee occupy six volumes. A member of the staff of The Outlook has attended the most important sessions in order to get an impression of the personalities of the more important witnesses. And the whole testimony has been very carefully examined in the preparation of the following article. In condensing into seven pages a story which in the original telling occupies five thousand pages, The Outlook has had to select what appeared to it the more important facts and circumstances, to pass by without mention circumstances that to some might have seemed important, and, in some cases of disputed testimony, to determine which view should be taken, though where this has been done the fact is generally indicated by a foot-note. The reader of The Outlook may be sure, however, that no pains have been spared to make this account as accurate and adequate as was possible, and that nothing in it has been set down in malice or conscious prejudice. We intend it to be, and we believe that it is, a just and impartial summing up of the Ballinger case.

In many respects the chief contribution of President Roosevelt to his country was his policy of Conservation.

The people of the United States collectively are the greatest landowner in their own dominions. Thus the people of Maine, of New York, of South Carolina, of Ohio, of California, of each of the other States, are part owners of great tracts of land in Alaska, in Utah, in Oregon, and in other States and Territories. For years the people, as a whole, seemed to have little interest in their lands. They were concerned in building up a great country with a great population. So they gave some of their lands to individuals, with little thought of how those individuals would dispose of them; other lands they gave to railways; still other lands they gave to the States, which in turn disposed of them to rich individuals and concerns.

Gradually, however, the American people began to realize that these lands of theirs contained coal and oil and ores and other deposits, included water power that could be used in place of fuel, bore or could be made to bear forests. So Congress was urged to make laws to restrict and regulate the disposal of these lands. Persons eager for these lands, however, found ways to procure them. Under the pretense of getting homesteads they secured great tracts of land for various purposes, valuable coal deposits, and stretches of timber land. The only way these lands could be conserved for the common interest and kept from benefiting merely a few was by the strong action of the Executive. Congress could pass rules for the use of this property, but only the President and his subordinates could see that the property was not squandered.

Under the President two departments of the Government are charged with administering the landed estate of the American people. One is the Interior Department, the other the Department of Agriculture. The Interior Department acts through three agencies: the Geological Survey, which obtains certain kinds of information about the lands; the Reclamation Service, which, besides getting information, manages the great projects for bringing water to fertilize rainless lands; and the General Land Office, which, besides getting information, is charged with seeing that such lands as the Government disposes of are secured only by those who are entitled to have them.

In March, 1907, during Mr. Roose-

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velt's administration, Mr. Richard A. Ballinger, formerly a reform Mayor of Seattle, Washington, became Commissioner of the General Land Office. The law then in force limited the acquirement of coal land in Alaska by any one person to 160 acres. Many people had tried to evade this law by various methods. A man, for instance, would get several people to pretend to apply for coal lands for themselves, but really for him; or he would join with a number of people and, with the intention of forming a company, secure many hundreds of acres through the claims of his associates. In 1906 President Roosevelt had issued a proclamation saying that no more coal lands would be given away, though the claims already filed would be kept under consideration. When Mr. Ballinger came into office, there were about nine hundred such claims. Of these thirty-three were in one group, called the Cunningham group, from the name of the agent who acted on behalf of the claimants. The Cunningham claimants were the only ones who had carried their claims to entry—that is, had gone through the formality of offering proof of compliance with the law, had paid to the Government the required ten dollars an acre, and had been given a receipt. These Cunningham claimants were therefore the only "entrymen" of the Alaska coal-fields. Several of these claimants were prominent men of Seattle. Mr. Ballinger, as former Mayor of Seattle, knew the prominent men of the city. If these claimants had among themselves reached such an understanding or made such agreement as to frustrate the object of the law, their claims were illegal. As Land Commissioner, Mr. Ballinger was under pressure from men who had paid their money to the Government for the land, and who urged him to perform the Governmental acts necessary to perfect their titles. During the year 1907 three Government agents, Mr. Love, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Glavis, were designated in turn to investigate the Alaskan coal claims to see if they were in accord with the law. Mr. Love, who had before this time been making investigations, reported to the General Land Office facts which were suspicious, but nevertheless recommended that the claims be allowed. Mr. Love, it should be said, was somewhat embarrassed in his investigations by his social and political relations with the claimants. Before Mr. Love's report was submitted Mr. Jones was directed to join him, and together with him conferred with Mr. Ballinger. Mr. Jones was given to understand by Mr. Ballinger that he was to make only a preliminary examination for the purpose of furnishing Mr. Ballinger information that would assist him in recommending changes in the coal land law. Within a few days Mr. Jones submitted a report in which he gave his impression that the claims all tended to the Guggenheim companies—an impression apparently justified by subsequent evidence of an option given by the Cunningham claimants to the Guggenheim syndicate. Mr. Jones recommended that the entries be further investigated. Later, Mr. Glavis, Chief of a Field Division of the General Land Office, who had given Mr. Jones information about the Alaskan coal land laws, in a letter to Mr. Ballinger informed him that one of the claimants, not of the Cunningham group, had explained that he had refused to give information on advice from Mr. Ballinger. A month later Mr. Glavis was summoned to Washington, and, after telling Mr. Schwartz, a Land Office official, who had charge of all field investigations, that there was danger of a coal land scandal, and after talking with Mr. Ballinger, was put in charge of the Alaskan investigation. Then there followed a succession of vacillating actions.

Within a few days, Mr. Moore, one of the Cunningham claimants, called on Commissioner Ballinger and talked over the claims with him. In the presence of the claimant Mr. Ballinger called in Mr. Schwartz and got from him information about the status of these claims, being shown in particular Mr. Love's report, declared that he thought they should be allowed, and, receiving the concurrence of this subordinate, ordered that these claims be "clear-listed" for patent—that is, that they be taken out of the division that was investigating them and put on the way to be recorded as valid. As soon as Mr. Glavis, who had in the meantime left Washington, received

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word of this clear-listing order, he protested by telegraph and letter. As a consequence, Mr. Ballinger canceled the order for clear-listing; but when the Cunningham claimant who had visited him in Washington inquired by telegraph for a reason for the delay, Commissioner Ballinger indicated that the cancellation not only was done on account of Mr. Glavis's protest, but also was not expected to be permanent, by personally writing and sending by telegraph the answer, "Temporary delay caused by report of field agent." Within a few days Mr. Ballinger appeared before a Congressional committee and urged the passage of a bill one effect of which, if passed, would have been to validate claims otherwise invalid. It was for this occasion that Mr. Ballinger had asked Mr. Jones for information about coal entries. Within a day or two he left office.

For a year thereafter Mr. Ballinger practiced law in Seattle. Meantime the direction of affairs in the General Land Office fell to the hands of Mr. Ballinger's former assistant, Mr. Dennett. Soon after Mr. Ballinger had left office, Mr. Glavis secured from Mr. Cunningham a journal that indicated that the entrymen had made an agreement or arrangement to act jointly. Very soon thereafter Mr. Glavis was first ordered by the Land Office to limit his office expenses and later ordered to discontinue his investigation of the Alaska claims. The reason given was a lack of funds. Mr. Glavis protested that such discontinuance would work injury to the Government's case; but he had to comply. In May ample funds were voted by Congress, and later in the month a new coal law (not, however, the one advocated by Mr. Ballinger) was passed. The general order to Mr. Glavis as to limitation of expenditure was revoked, but no direction was given him to resume the investigation of the Alaska coal cases.[1] So Mr. Glavis busied himself with some pressing cases regarding lands in Oregon and an examination of timber in Alaska. The summer months, during which a field examination of the Alaska claims was possible, passed, therefore, without any field examination being made. In some way the claimants had information as to the course the Government was pursuing. During these months Mr. Ballinger, now practicing law, wrote from Seattle several letters to his former subordinate asking favorable consideration for several claims. His letters were of a friendly, not to say intimate, character. In September Mr. Ballinger drew up an affidavit for Mr. Cunningham. This affidavit refers to the Cunningham journal Mr. Glavis had secured, relates with some detail the course which Mr. Cunningham had pursued which had led to the location of the Cunningham group of claims, asserts that there was no combination among the claimants that would result in "parting with title," and states that Mr. Cunningham knew of no claimant who had any contractual obligation with the Guggenheim or other syndicate. Mr. Ballinger took this affidavit to Mr. Garfield, the Secretary of the Interior, and presented to him the contention of the Cunningham claimants. For this service he was paid a small fee of two hundred or two hundred and fifty dollars. In October, when it was too late to make a field examination, Mr. Glavis's instructions to suspend the coal investigations were definitely revoked. By this time all field examination had to wait till the following summer.

This was the status of the Alaska coal claims in March, 1909. So far Mr. Ballinger, beyond opposing the establishment of the Chugach National Forest in the coal regions of Alaska, had had little to do with any Conservation question except that of coal lands. Other Conservation problems, however, were being dealt with.

Under Mr. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior, the Reclamation Service, directed by Mr. F. H. Newell, was continuing the great task of reclaiming arid lands. Some of these lands were public lands, some private. The cost of this work is only temporarily borne by the Government, for it is ultimately paid for by the settlers who receive the benefit of the irrigation. The Government simply loans its capital without interest. In some cases the water users proposed that the Government should not even do that, but permit them to do some of the ditching work them-

[1] It has been held that communications to Mr. Glavis indicated that he was to resume his investigations, but we think Mr. Glavis was right in thinking that they did not. He ascribed the discontinuance to the Presidential campaign.

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selves under direction of Government engineers. For this purpose an ingenious form of certificates was prepared. These certificates were issued by the water users, not by the Government, as a convenient bookkeeping arrangement so that it could be easily determined how much each settler had contributed in labor instead of money. Of course each day's work that was done by a settler saved the Government just so much expense, and therefore made it unnecessary for the settler to reimburse the Government for that expense. Under this plan the co-operation of the settlers with the Government was secured.

With information supplied by the Reclamation Service Mr. Garfield withdrew from entry thousands of acres along certain rivers. He did this because it was certain that there were places there where water power plants could be erected. It was desirable that such places should not be taken under the guise of homesteads and then used by power companies. It was also desirable that any such place where power could be utilized for driving machinery in connection with reclamation projects should be kept for reclamation purposes. Furthermore, as the Secretary of the Interior can withdraw land for use as stations for Government forest rangers, Secretary Garfield chose for many of those stations places where there were power sites.

In the Forest Service, which is a bureau of the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Pinchot had been developing a body of expert forest rangers. By an agreement between the Secretary of the Interior, under whom the Indian Office is placed, and the Secretary of Agriculture, men from the Forest Service were beginning the management of forests on Indian lands. Mr. Pinchot had also been continuing the development of the forests themselves. The policy of Conservation and Reclamation was thus being firmly established.

When President Taft's Administration began, Mr. Ballinger, leaving his law practice in Seattle, became Secretary of the Interior. Within a few weeks he had brought about what almost amounted to a complete reversal of the methods which had been followed.

He showed at once his distrust of the Director of the Reclamation Service. He brought sharply to the attention of the Director and his Chief Engineer the criticisms he had heard of the service. He attempted, but finally abandoned the attempt, to make the Chief Engineer rather than the Director his means of communication with the bureau; indeed, he proposed a plan of organization which would have eliminated the Director as chief of the bureau, relegated him to a place over merely one of the branches of the bureau, and left the service without a chief of any kind.

Contrary to the wish of the Director, Secretary Ballinger retained in office an engineer of the Reclamation Service who had accepted each month a check from a railway with which the Government was regularly doing business through his branch of the service, and even gave him enlarged powers. He exonerated this engineer on the ground that a letter authorizing him to give lectures for men's clubs and the like, for pay, authorized his receipt of such a retainer.

In spite of the opposition of both the Director and Chief Engineer, he made known to them his wish that the withdrawn lands, with all the power sites, be restored to entry. He had no intention of rewithdrawing them, but instead would have left them to be taken up by settlers. When protests came in, he ordered, as a second thought, that the Geological Survey supply charts for rewithdrawing these lands. He later reported to the President that his only error in this was in not making the orders for restoration and rewithdrawal concurrently. The rewithdrawals, however, were much narrower than the original withdrawals. It does not yet appear that they are broad enough to secure the control of the power sites.

He had his subordinates submit to the Attorney-General a statement of facts purporting to describe the conditions under which the water users' certificates were issued, but which did not accurately describe the conditions, and, on the decision of the Attorney-General that under such conditions the certificates were illegal, he abolished them.

He came into office finding the agreement between the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture regarding forestry on Indian lands in operation. Later, when asked by the President for

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the reason for the abandonment of this agreement, he transmitted a copy of a decision of the Comptroller which declares one arrangement proposed under that agreement illegal, but does not invalidate the whole agreement, and which much less erects a barrier against every kind of cooperative agreement between the two departments.

As head of the Interior Department Mr. Ballinger now had final responsibility regarding the Alaska coal cases. In accord with his instructions, Mr. Glavis was at once directed to hasten the investigations. On account of snow in Alaska he could not make field examinations until the first of July. Urgent requests for expedition came from Mr. Moore on behalf of the Cunningham claimants. Mr. Ballinger explicitly stated that, in view of his relation while out of office to the claimants, he would have nothing to do with these Cunningham cases. He so informed Mr. Moore, but added that, if he were to decide, he should have to make his decision adverse to the claimants. He suggested, on the other hand, that the claimants might wish to take advantage of the new Coal Act of May, 1908, and that the Department was disposed to construe this liberally. Before continuing with the investigations, Mr. Glavis wanted a construction of the new Coal Act of May, 1908, in order to understand how far the Department would regard it as applicable to these claims. Mr. Ballinger agreed with him that there was no use in making further expensive investigations if the law allowed these claimants to have title. So it was decided, with Mr. Ballinger's approval, to have the question submitted to the Attorney-General. Mr. Ballinger's First Assistant, Mr. Pierce, however, under the general instructions received from Mr. Ballinger to take these cases in charge, rendered a decision himself which would have enabled these claimants to take advantage of this act, and get their claims patented. When Mr. Glavis heard of this, he went to Mr. Hoyt, an Assistant United States Attorney, and laid the situation before him. He could not secure from Mr. Ballinger any reversal of the course he believed the Department was following, because Mr. Ballinger had announced that he would have nothing to do with the cases. First Mr. Hoyt, and the next day Mr. Glavis, had an interview with the Attorney-General, Mr. Wickersham. Evidently as a consequence of these interviews, the identical questions on which Mr. Pierce rendered his decision were submitted to the Attorney-General.[1] The resulting decision of the Attorney-General, while perhaps not technically a reversal of the Pierce decision, was in practical effect a reversal so far as these Cunningham claims were concerned, for it made it possible still further to call in question the good faith of the claimants. Mr. Ballinger has expressed himself as being greatly vexed with both Mr. Hoyt and Mr. Glavis for this incident, on the ground that since he had been informed that the claimants were going to appeal to the President, he would himself have referred the matter to the Attorney-General. The opinion of the Attorney-General was rendered in June. On the first of July Mr. Schwartz, the Chief of Field Service, wrote of Mr. Glavis as a specially competent man. A week later Mr. Glavis urged the necessity of awaiting field examination before beginning proceedings looking to canceling the entries. At the same time he asked the Forest Service for assistance. Inasmuch as several of these Cunningham claims were in the Chugach National Forest Reserve (though they had been filed before the Forest had been created), the Bureau of Forestry was legitimately interested. In attempting to get the papers on file concerning these claims the Forest officials were at first put off by the Interior Department officials, and then given an incomplete record. Within a week thereafter the Chief of Field Service, Mr. Ballinger's subordinate, on the ground that Mr. Glavis had been slow, put Mr. Sheridan, who had been detailed to assist him, in Mr. Glavis's place in charge of the Cunningham group, and informed him that without further delay the Government would endeavor to cancel the claims. Mr. Sheridan, by independent study, reached the same conclusion as

[1] It is a disputed point whether the question was submitted to the Attorney-General by Mr. Ballinger independently of any action on Mr. Glavis's part. The evidence, we believe, indicates strongly that Mr. Glavis's action was in this matter the chief factor.

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Mr. Glavis in favor of postponing hearings until the Government could ascertain new facts to meet new conditions. At the suggestion of a Forest Service official the Secretary of Agriculture also made request for a delay in the hearings. Even this request was not promptly granted. Ultimately, however, the hearings were postponed. In the meantime Mr. Glavis became more apprehensive on account of the attitude of the Commissioner of the Land Office, Mr. Dennett. Letters written by Mr. Dennett at this time justify Mr. Glavis's fears. Later Mr. Glavis consulted with Mr. Pinchot, and on his advice finally decided to lay the whole matter before the President. He did so, and, upon Secretary Ballinger's request, was discharged for insubordination and unfair statements.

It has since transpired that the Guggenheim syndicate for the development of Alaska had an option on the Cunningham claims, that just before the clear-listing order Mr. Guggenheim accepted that option, and that during the summer of 1909 Secretary Ballinger wrote to Mr. George W. Perkins, a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., which is interested in the Guggenheim syndicate for the development of Alaska, recommending an engineer to accompany Mr. Perkins in an examination of the resources of Alaska. This same engineer, it may be said, has been mentioned as under consideration as a man to displace Mr. Newell as Chief of the Reclamation Service.

The charges on which Mr. Glavis was discharged were presented in a number of memoranda. These were submitted by Secretary Ballinger, Mr. Dennett, Mr. Schwartz, and Mr. Lawler, Secretary Ballinger's official legal adviser. All these men, with the exception of Mr. Lawler, were involved in the dealings with the Cunningham claimants, and Mr. Lawler has acknowledged a long-standing feeling of strong hostility to Mr. Glavis. With these memoranda in hand and with an almost full record in the case, the Attorney-General prepared a summary and report exonerating Mr. Ballinger and condemning Mr. Glavis. Secretary Ballinger gave Mr. Glavis no opportunity of knowing what the charges against him were.

In the course of preparing his material for submission to the President, Mr. Glavis received the assistance of Mr. Price, Associate Forester, with the authorization of Mr. Pinchot; and later, in the course of giving to the public, through "Collier's Weekly," his statement of the facts in the case, received the assistance of both Mr. Price and Mr. Shaw, Assistant Law Officer of the Service. For giving such information both Mr. Price and Mr. Shaw were discharged. Then, because Mr. Pinchot, in response to a request from Senator Dolliver, wrote a letter to the Senator approving the course of Mr. Price and Mr. Shaw without receiving from his Chief, the Secretary of Agriculture, the permission he understood he had received, Mr. Pinchot was discharged. Finally, after many attempts to obtain Mr. Lawler's memorandum for submission to the Investigating Committee had been frustrated by the officials of the Department of the Interior, a stenographer, Mr. Kerby, made a public statement concerning the contents of this memorandum and the circumstances of its preparation. For this act Mr. Kerby was discharged.

On the stand, before the Committee, Mr. Ballinger has been evasive in his answers, and has shown the greatest feeling, not over any danger to public property, but over what he calls an attack on his reputation. He has repeatedly attempted to explain letters he has signed by ascribing the preparation of them to subordinates, and to explain actions by saying that, though they were taken by subordinates in accord with his strongly expressed wish, they were not done under his orders. He has repeatedly denounced his subordinates, the Director and Chief Engineer of the Reclamation Service, and he has made statements which, as they would be ordinarily understood, do not accord with the facts. His counsel, apparently with his consent, has held the Conservation policy of the last Administration up to ridicule.

These facts, derived from the full record of the proceedings, lead us to certain definite conclusions.

The notion that there has been a conspiracy to injure Mr. Ballinger may be disregarded. What Mr. Garfield, Mr. Pinchot, Mr. Newell, Mr. Price, Mr.

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Shaw, Mr. Glavis, and Mr. Kerby have done may not in all particulars have been directed by sound judgment, but there is no evidence that it has been governed by intent to do damage to any man.

Whether it was necessary to dismiss Mr. Glavis from public office was a question that had to be decided according to the discretion of the President. Dismissal, however, does not necessarily carry with it judgment against the man himself. Mr. Glavis should not be condemned. He has rendered important service. Believing, as he did, that the public interest was in danger, he could not have pursued any other course than that of appealing to the President.

Mr. Pinchot has, we think, committed some errors of judgment; but they have been incidental to a career that has been guided by sound instincts. This, generally true of his activities as a public official, is, in particular, true of the part he has taken in this controversy. His separation from the public service is a misfortune. What he has contributed to the advancement of the Nation is quite beyond computation or estimate.

What Mr. Price and Mr. Shaw, of the Forest Service, and Mr. Kerby, the stenographer in the Interior Department, did toward making the facts of this case public was done with the object of the public welfare. Whether they might have done better to resign before taking extreme measures is a matter on which opinions may disagree; but the method of action which they did adopt was in accord with sound moral principles.

Questions of the violation of law are not to be determined by a Congressional Committee, much less by a newspaper. Nevertheless, concerning Mr. Ballinger's relation to public office the question of the violation of law in one instance has been raised. According to the revised statutes (190), it is unlawful for "an officer, clerk, or employee in any of the departments to act as counsel, attorney, or agent for prosecuting any claim against the United States which was pending in either of said Departments while he was such officer, clerk, or employee, nor by any means to aid in the prosecution of any such claim, within two years next after he shall have ceased to be such officer, clerk, or employee." Mr. Ballinger's action in presenting the merits of coal land claims to the Department seems to us to be contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the statute; but since the Attorney-General of the United States appears to hold that this and other similar statutes apply only to money claims, we shall not put our opinion against his. The reason, however, for the prohibition against representing money claims applies equally to land claims.

We are loth to believe that anything that Mr. Ballinger has done has been with wrong intent. We do not believe that a careful reading of the testimony compels to such a conclusion. As it is not in our province to render decisions concerning the legality of actions, so it is not in our province to sit in judgment on motives and purposes.

The evidence, however, is clear that the ethical standards which Mr. Ballinger has adopted are not those which the American people in these days have a right to expect in their public servants. The law-honesty which Mr. Ballinger believes he observed in representing coal claimants is not the proper measure for a public servant's conduct. The fact that as Secretary of the Interior he recommended an engineer to accompany a member of the firm that is associated with the Guggenheims in a trip to investigate opportunities for exploiting the mining regions of Alaska indicates that his opinion of what is delicate and fitting in a public official is not in accord with the standards to which a public official should hold himself. The reason he gave for exonerating an engineer of the Reclamation Service for accepting a retainer from a railway with which as a representative of the Government this engineer was dealing affords another illustration of Secretary Ballinger's standards of public official conduct. These specific illustrations are in accord with his participation in his own exoneration and with his resistance to the search for facts in the case. His attitude as thus illustrated helps to explain the general tone of the Interior Department officials as shown in the testimony. The standards set by the head of a Department are felt throughout the Department. It is clear that views of the public service that have prevailed in those bureaus of the Interior

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Department which responded most readily to Secretary Ballinger's influence are those which we hoped had been left behind with a past epoch.

Specifically with regard to the history of the Cunningham claims, the facts show that Mr. Ballinger was ill-advised to act as attorney for the agent of the claimants; that, having acted as attorney, it was unfortunate that he was prevailed upon to accept the office of Secretary of the Interior; that, having found it not inconsistent to have served the claimants after serving the Government, and having accepted the office of Secretary of the Interior, it was wrong for him to refuse to defend the interests of the Government against what he regarded as invalidated claims; that, having concluded that he could not protect the interests of the Government, it was incumbent upon him to resign; and that, after remaining in office, though incapacitated from protecting this property from illegal claims, he is not in a position to hold the confidence of the owners of the property—the people of the United States.

In respect to the withdrawals of public lands, to the water users' certificates, and to the co-operative agreement between the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior, he has justified his action on the ground of his respect for law. He has not, however, been able to show that his rewithdrawals are any more legal from his point of view than the original withdrawals, or that there was any lack of funds necessitating, as he claims, the abolition of the certificate system, or that the Comptroller's decision which he transmitted to the President rendered the co-operative agreement illegal. Likewise he was unable to show on the stand the legal ground for his opinion that the irrigation of private lands is permissible if in conjunction with public lands, but not permissible if not in conjunction with public lands. In other words, it is not the law but his opinion of the law that reigns; and the testimony shows that this opinion is not valuable. So far as this opinion is a principle, it seems to amount to this: that laws defining powers to defend public interests must be interpreted strictly, but laws defining the rights of private interests must be interpreted liberally.

As an administrator Secretary Ballinger has, by the evidence, been shown to be inefficient. Not only his general attitude toward the Reclamation Service, but his specific plan for the reorganization of that bureau, is violative of the primary principle of efficient organization. The evidence shows that his subordinates cannot always distinguish between what he regards as a wish without directive force and what he regards as an order. His announced belief that some of his subordinates are "snakes" which are to be killed is death to *esprit de corps*. Under his administration bureau jealousy has been fostered.

Upon the record here set down there is no adequate ground to adjudge that Mr. Ballinger has violated the law or acted with deliberate wrong intent. But, because his standards for the conduct of public business do not reach the level that is expected of public servants, because in dealing with the Alaska coal cases he has not invariably been the protector of the public interests, because he is an uncertain and arbitrary interpreter of law, and because he has been inefficient in administering his Department, he cannot be regarded as a trustworthy custodian. The verdict of history will be that he did not understand either the spirit and purposes of the people of his time or the duties and functions of his great office.

WITNESSES WORTHY OF BELIEF

The credibility of a witness depends on two things: knowledge and veracity; and when a man or woman appears to give evidence touching the meaning of life and the interpretation of its facts, these two questions must be pressed home: Do you know the facts? Are you telling the truth? The witness-box has been filled by a long succession of men and women who were eager to tell us about life. They have written numberless books, they have filled the pages of the magazines and newspapers, they have been heard in all places of public speech. They assail our intelligence through every faculty; they enchant us with the music of the spoken word; they throw over us the spell of temperament; they play on

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our emotions, passions, sympathies, as a virtuoso plays on a violin; they overpower us with the hypnotic fascination of their eloquence; they dazzle us with wit and bewilder us with cunning dexterities of logic. These various gifts have their value, and often this value is very great; but they have not a feather's weight in determining the value of their testimony.

Mr. Shaw presents his view of life with diverting cleverness and penetrating wit; but these qualities which hold our attention contribute nothing to the value of his testimony. The question is not, "How brilliant is this witness?" but, "How clearly does he see the facts, and with what breadth of view and soundness of selection does he present them?" Zola had a genius for getting together a certain order of facts, and tremendous cogency and force in putting them before the court. For more than a decade he was one of the most striking figures in the witness-box, and one of the most sincere; but who now accepts his view of life? He saw certain related facts in a small group, but he isolated the group and took no account of the vast order of things in which the facts were involved and without which they could not be interpreted. He called himself a Naturist, but among the writers of romance there has been none who selected his facts more frankly or arranged them with more definite design. As a reporter of certain facts Zola is an unimpeachable witness; as an interpreter of life he has little weight.

Many honest men are disqualified as interpreters of life by reason of intellectual limitations, defects of vision, racial influences that color or discolor the whole view of things, imperfect or perverse education; they are honest, but they do not know life. Many are disqualified by reason of moral infirmities. It is futile to try to separate the artistic from the moral instincts and habits, and it is a kind of professional cant which affirms that art has nothing to do with morals. There would be no necessary connection if art and morals were abstractions; if art were a beautiful and liberating influence playing through the world as the vitalizing influence plays through the earth. But art is the most concrete of all forms of expression; in its great moments it is most obviously and transparently a disclosure of that organization of purpose, will, emotion, temperament, and habit in an artist which we call character; not the formal and conventional framework which some art critics and moralists seem to have in mind when they discuss it, but the vital and individual unity of a man's faculties as a creative energy behind his various gifts; the only definition we have, as Emerson says, of freedom and honor.

This interpretation of what a man does by what a man is rests, not on a rule of conduct imposed from without, but on the very structure of his nature; on his body in which is rooted the form of his work, in his emotions or heart whence flow its color and feeling, in his intellect which sets the facts he sees in order, in his spirit which perceives that there is about him a spiritual as well as a physical environment and makes him free of this larger world of ideas and ideals which is the treasure-house of art. The way of a man's life, its purity or corruption, its obedience or violation of the laws of moral health, may have little connection with the birth of his genius, but it has everything to do with the husbanding of the resources of his genius.

It is one of the evil results of the disintegration of life which followed the breaking up of the unity of the Middle Ages that we have come not only to separate the two parts of a man's nature which are inseparable, but that there has grown up a cant of art as there was of religion, so that the idea of any connection between art and morals is held to be unpardonable Philistinism. This was not Goethe's view, nor Arnold's; nor is it the teaching of the biography of art. When we regain the sense of the unity and dignity of human nature which does not separate aspiration from impulse or devotion from humor, we shall emancipate ourselves from the cant of art as we have from that of religion, and we shall regain that clear perception of man as an indivisible personality, in whom every part reacts on every other part, so that the creative power and fertility of the artist depend on his health of mind and spirit. And by the same process we shall know that the only competent witnesses of the facts of life are those men and women whose vision is clear because no mist of moral disease has blurred their sight.

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BIOLOGICAL ANALOGIES IN HISTORY

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE ROMANES LECTURE, DELIVERED AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY, JUNE 7, 1910

AN American who, in response to such an invitation as I have received, speaks in this University of ancient renown cannot but feel with peculiar vividness the interest and charm of his surroundings, fraught as they are with a thousand associations. Your great universities, and all the memories that make them great, are living realities in the minds of scores of thousands of men who have never seen them and who dwell across the seas in other lands. Moreover, these associations are no stronger in the men of English stock than in those who are not. My people have been for eight generations in America; but in one thing I am like the Americans of to-morrow rather than like many of the Americans of to-day, for I have in my veins the blood of men who came from many different European races. The ethnic make-up of our people is slowly changing, so that constantly the race tends to become more and more akin to that of those Americans who, like myself, are of the old stock but not mainly of English stock. Yet I think that, as time goes by, mutual respect, understanding, and sympathy among the English-speaking peoples grow greater and not less. Any of my ancestors, Hollander or Huguenot, Scotchman or Irishman, who had come to Oxford in "the spacious days of great Elizabeth" would have felt far more alien than I, their descendant, now feel. Common heirship in the things of the spirit makes a closer bond than common heirship in the things of the body.

More than ever before in the world's history, we of to-day seek to penetrate the causes of the mysteries that surround not only mankind but all life, both in the present and the past. We search, we peer, we see things dimly; here and there we get a ray of clear vision as we look before and after. We study the tremendous procession of the ages, from the immemorial past when in "cramp elf and saurian forms" the creative forces "swathed their too-much power," down to the yesterday, a few score thousand years distant only, when the history of man became the overwhelming fact in the history of life on this planet; and, studying, we see strange analogies in the phenomena of life and death, of birth, growth, and change, between those physical groups of animal life which we designate as species, forms, races, and the highly complex and composite entities which rise before our minds when we speak of nations and civilizations.

It is this study which has given science its present-day prominence. In the world of intellect, doubtless the most marked features in the history of the past century have been the extraordinary advances in scientific knowledge and investigation and in the position held by the men of science with reference to those engaged in other pursuits. I am not now speaking of applied science—of the science, for instance, which, having revolutionized transportation on the earth and the water, is now on the brink of carrying it into the air; of the science that finds its expression in such extraordinary achievements as the telephone and the telegraph; of the sciences which have so accelerated the velocity of movement in social and industrial condi-

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tions—for the changes in the mechanical appliances of ordinary life during the last three generations have been greater than in all the preceding generations since history dawned. I speak of the science which has no more direct bearing upon the affairs of our every-day life than literature or music, painting or sculpture, poetry or history. A hundred years ago the ordinary man of cultivation had to know something of these last subjects; but the probabilities were rather against his having any but the most superficial scientific knowledge. At present all this has changed, thanks to the interest taken in scientific discoveries, the large circulation of scientific books, and the rapidity with which ideas originating among students of the most advanced and abstruse sciences become, at least partially, domiciled in the popular mind.

Another feature of the change, of the growth in the position of science in the eyes of every one, and of the greatly increased respect naturally resulting for scientific methods, has been a certain tendency among scientific students to encroach on other fields. This is particularly true of the field of historical study. Not only have scientific men insisted upon the necessity of considering the history of man, especially in its early stages, in connection with what biology shows to be the history of life, but, furthermore, there has arisen a demand that history shall itself be treated as a science. Both positions are in their essence right; but as regards each position the more arrogant among the invaders of the new realm of knowledge take an attitude to which it is not necessary to assent. As regards the latter of the two positions, that which would treat history henceforth merely as one branch of scientific study, we must of course cordially agree that accuracy in recording facts and appreciation of their relative worth and interrelationship are just as necessary in historical study as in any other kind of study. The fact that a book, though interesting, is untrue, of course removes it at once from the category of history, however much it may still deserve to retain a place in the always desirable group of volumes which deal with entertaining fiction. But the converse also holds, at least to the extent of permitting us to insist upon what would seem to be the elementary fact that a book which is written to be read should be readable. This rather obvious truth seems to have been forgotten by some of the more zealous scientific historians, who apparently hold that the worth of a historical book is directly in proportion to the impossibility of reading it, save as a painful duty. Now I am willing that history shall be treated as a branch of science, but only on condition that it also remains a branch of literature; and, furthermore, I believe that as the field of science encroaches on the field of literature, there should be a corresponding encroachment of literature upon science; and I hold that one of the great needs, which can only be met by very able men whose culture is broad enough to include literature as well as science, is the need of books for scientific laymen. We need a literature of science which shall be readable. So far from doing away with the school of great historians, the school of Polybius and Tacitus, Gibbon and Macaulay, we need merely that the future writers of history, without losing the qualities which have made those men great, shall also utilize the new facts and new methods which science has put at their disposal. Dryness is not in itself a measure of value. No "scientific" treatise about St. Louis will displace Joinville, for the very reason that Joinville's place is in both history and literature; no minute study of the Napoleonic wars will teach us more than Marbot—and Marbot is as interesting as Walter Scott. Moreover, certain at least of the branches of science should likewise be treated by masters in the art of presentment, so that the layman interested in science, no less than the layman interested in history, shall have on his shelves classics which can be read. Whether this wish be or be not capable of realization, it assuredly remains true that the great historian of the future must essentially represent the ideal striven after by the great historians of the past. The industrious collector of facts occupies an honorable but not an exalted position, and the scientific historian who produces books which are not literature must rest content with the honor, substantial but not of the highest type, that belongs to

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him who gathers material which some time some great master shall arise to use.

Yet, while freely conceding all that can be said of the masters of literature, we must insist upon the historian of mankind working in the scientific spirit, and using the treasure-houses of science. He who would fully treat of man must know at least something of biology, of the science that treats of living, breathing things; and especially of that science of evolution which is inseparably connected with the great name of Darwin. Of course there is no exact parallelism between the birth, growth, and death of species in the animal world and the birth, growth, and death of societies in the world of man. Yet there is a certain parallelism. There are strange analogies; it may be that there are homologies.

How far the resemblances between the two sets of phenomena are more than accidental, how far biology can be used as an aid in the interpretation of human history, we cannot at present say. The historian should never forget, what the highest type of scientific man is always teaching us to remember, that willingness to admit ignorance is a prime factor in developing wisdom out of knowledge. Wisdom is advanced by research which enables us to add to knowledge; and, moreover, the way for wisdom is made ready when men who record facts of vast but unknown import, when asked to explain their full significance, are willing frankly to answer that they do not know. The research which enables us to add to the sum of complete knowledge stands first; but second only stands the research which, while enabling us clearly to pose the problem, also requires us to say that with our present knowledge we can offer no complete solution.

Let me illustrate what I mean by an instance or two taken from one of the most fascinating branches of world history, the history of the higher forms of life, of mammalian life, on this globe.

Geologists and astronomers are not agreed as to the length of time necessary for the changes that have taken place. At any rate, many hundreds of thousands of years, some millions of years, have passed by since in the eocene, at the beginning of the tertiary period, we find the traces of an abundant, varied, and highly developed mammalian life on the land masses out of which have grown the continents as we see them to-day. The ages swept by, until, with the advent of man substantially in the physical shape in which we now know him, we also find a mammalian fauna not essentially different in kind, though widely differing in distribution, from that of the present day. Throughout this immense period form succeeds form, type succeeds type, in obedience to laws of evolution, of progress and retrogression, of development and death, which we as yet understand only in the most imperfect manner. As knowledge increases, our wisdom is often turned into foolishness, and many of the phenomena of evolution which seemed clearly explicable to the learned master of science who founded these lectures, to us nowadays seem far less satisfactorily explained. The scientific men of most note now differ widely in their estimates of the relative parts played in evolution by natural selection, by mutation, by the inheritance of acquired characteristics; and we study their writings with a growing impression that there are forces at work which our blinded eyes wholly fail to apprehend; and where this is the case, the part of wisdom is to say that we believe we have such and such partial explanations, but that we are not warranted in saying that we have the whole explanation. In tracing the history of the development of faunal life during this period, the age of mammals, there are some facts which are clearly established, some great and sweeping changes for which we can ascribe with certainty a reason. There are other facts as to which we grope in the dark, and vast changes, vast catastrophes, of which we can give no adequate explanation.

Before illustrating these types, let us settle one or two matters of terminology. In the changes, the development and extinction, of species we must remember that such expressions as "a new species," or as "a species becoming extinct," are each commonly and indiscriminately used to express totally different and opposite meanings. Of course the "new" species is not new in the sense that its ancestors appeared later on the globe's surface than those of any old species tottering to

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extinction. Phylogenetically, each animal now living must necessarily trace its ancestral descent back through countless generations, through æons of time, to the early stages of the appearance of life on the globe. All that we mean by a "new" species is that, from some cause or set of causes, one of these ancestral stems slowly or suddenly develops into a form unlike any that has preceded it; so that while in one form of life the ancestral type is continuously repeated and the old species continues to exist, in another form of life there is a deviation from the ancestral type and a new species appears.

Similarly, "extinction of species" is a term which has two entirely different meanings. The type may become extinct by dying out and leaving no descendants. Or it may die out because, as the generations go by, there is change, slow or swift, until a new form is produced. Thus in one case the line of life comes to an end. In the other case it changes into something different. The huge titanothere and the small three-toed horse both existed at what may roughly be called the same period of the world's history, back in the middle of the mammalian age. Both are extinct in the same sense that each has completely disappeared, and that nothing like either is to be found in the world to-day. But whereas all the individual titanotheres finally died out, leaving no descendants, a number of the three-toed horses did leave descendants, and these descendants, constantly changing as the ages went by, finally developed into the highly specialized one-toed horses, asses, and zebras of to-day.

The analogy between the facts thus indicated and certain facts in the development of human societies is striking. A further analogy is supplied by a very curious tendency, often visible in cases of intense and extreme specialization. When an animal form becomes highly specialized, the type at first, because of its specialization, triumphs over its allied rivals and its enemies, and attains a great development; until in many cases the specialization becomes so extreme that, from some cause unknown to us, or at which we merely guess, it disappears. The new species which mark a new era commonly come from the less specialized types, the less distinctive, dominant, and striking types, of the preceding era.

When dealing with the changes, cataclysmic or otherwise, which divide one period of palæontological history from another, we can sometimes assign causes, and again we cannot even guess at them. In the case of single species or of faunas of very restricted localities the explanation is often self-evident. A comparatively slight change in the amount of moisture in the climate, with the attendant change in vegetation, might readily mean the destruction of a group of huge herbivores with a bodily size such that they needed a vast quantity of food and with teeth so weak or so peculiar that but one or two kinds of plants could furnish this food. Again, we now know that the most deadly foes of the higher forms of life are various lower forms of life, such as insects or microscopic creatures conveyed into the blood by insects. There are districts in South America where many large animals, wild and domestic, cannot live because of the presence either of certain ticks or of certain baleful flies. In Africa there is a terrible genus of poison fly, each species acting as the host of microscopic creatures which are deadly to certain of the higher vertebrates. One of these species, though harmless to man, is fatal to all domestic animals, and this although harmless to the closely related wild kinsfolk of these animals. Another is fatal to man himself, being the cause of the "sleeping sickness" which in many large districts has killed out the entire population. Of course the development or the extension of the range of any such insects, and any one of many other causes which we see actually at work around us, would readily account for the destruction of some given species or even for the destruction of several species in a limited area of country.

When whole faunal groups die out, over large areas, the question is different, and may or may not be susceptible of explanation with the knowledge we actually possess. In the old arctogeal continent, for instance, in what is now Europe, Asia, and North America, the glacial period made a complete but of course explicable change in the faunal life of the region. At one time the continent held a rich and varied fauna. Then a period of

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great cold supervened, and a different fauna succeeded the first. The explanation of the change is obvious.

But in many other cases we cannot so much as hazard a guess as to why a given change occurred. One of the most striking instances of these inexplicable changes is that afforded by the history of South America toward the close of the tertiary period. For ages South America had been an island by itself, cut off from North America at the very time that the latter was at least occasionally in land communication with Asia. During this time a very peculiar fauna grew up in South America, some of the types resembling nothing now existing, while others are recognizable as ancestral forms of the ant-eaters, sloths, and armadillos of to-day. It was a peculiar and diversified mammalian fauna of, on the whole, rather small species, and without any representatives of the animals with which man has been most familiar during his career on this earth.

Towards the end of the tertiary there was an upheaval of land between this old South American Island and North America, near what is now the Isthmus of Panama, thereby making a bridge across which the teeming animal life of the northern continent had access to this queer southern continent. There followed an inrush of huge, or swift, or formidable creatures which had attained their development in the fierce competition of the arctogeal realm. Elephants, camels, horses, tapirs, swine, saber-toothed tigers, big cats, wolves, bears, deer, crowded into South America, warring each against the other incomers and against the old long-existing forms. A riot of life followed. Not only was the character of the South American fauna totally changed by the invasion of these creatures from the north, which soon swarmed over the continent, but it was also changed through the development wrought in the old inhabitants by the severe competition to which they were exposed. Many of the smaller or less capable types died out. Others developed enormous bulk or complete armor protection, and thereby saved themselves from the new beasts. In consequence, South America soon became populated with various new species of mastodons, saber-toothed tigers, camels, horses, deer, cats, wolves, hooved creatures of strange shapes and some of them of giant size, all of these being descended from the immigrant types; and side by side with them there grew up large autochthonous ungulates, giant ground-sloths well-nigh as large as elephants, and armored creatures as bulky as an ox but structurally of the armadillo or ant-eater type; and some of these latter not only held their own, but actually in their turn wandered north over the isthmus and invaded North America. A fauna as varied as that of Africa to-day, as abundant in species and individuals, even more noteworthy because of its huge size or odd type and because of the terrific prowess of the more formidable flesh-eaters, was thus developed in South America, and flourished for a period which human history would call very long indeed, but which geologically was short.

Then, for no reason that we can assign, destruction fell on this fauna. All the great and terrible creatures died out, the same fate befalling the changed representatives of the old autochthonous fauna and the descendants of the migrants that had come down from the north. Ground-sloth and glyptodon, saber-tooth, horse and mastodon, and all the associated animals of large size, vanished, and South America, though still retaining its connection with North America, once again became a land with a mammalian life small and weak compared to that of North America and the Old World. Its fauna is now marked, for instance, by the presence of medium-sized deer and cats, fox-like wolves, and small camel-like creatures, as well as by the presence of small armadillos, sloths, and ant-eaters. In other words, it includes diminutive representatives of the giants of the preceding era, both of the giants among the older forms of mammalia and of the giants among the new and intrusive kinds. The change was widespread and extraordinary, and with our present means of information it is wholly inexplicable. There was no ice age, and it is hard to imagine any cause which would account for the extinction of so many species of huge or moderate size, while smaller representatives, and here and there medium-sized representatives, of many of them were left.

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Now, as to all of these phenomena in the evolution of species, there are, if not homologies, at least certain analogies, in the history of human societies, in the history of the rise to prominence, of the development and change, of the temporary dominance, and death or transformation, of the groups of varying kind which form races or nations. Here, as in biology, it is necessary to keep in mind that we use each of the words "birth" and "death," "youth" and "age," often very loosely, and sometimes as denoting either one of two totally different conceptions. Of course, in one sense there is no such thing as an "old" or a "young" nation, any more than there is an "old" or "young" family. Phylogenetically, the line of ancestral descent must be of exactly the same length for every existing individual, and for every group of individuals, whether forming a family or a nation. All that can properly be meant by the terms "new" and "young" is that in a given line of descent there has suddenly come a period of rapid change. This change may arise either from a new development or transformation of the old elements, or else from a new grouping of these elements with other and varied elements; so that the words "new" nation or "young" nation may have a real difference of significance in one case from what they have in another.

As in biology, so in human history, a new form may result from the specialization of a long-existing and hitherto very slowly changing generalized or non-specialized form; as, for instance, when a barbaric race from a variety of causes suddenly develops a more complex cultivation and civilization. This is what occurred, for instance, in western Europe during the centuries of the Teutonic and later the Scandinavian ethnic overflows from the north. All the modern countries of western Europe are descended from the states created by these northern invaders. When first created they could be called "new" or "young" states in the sense that part or all of the people composing them were descended from races that hitherto had not been civilized at all, and that therefore for the first time entered on the career of civilized communities. In the southern part of western Europe the new states thus formed consisted in bulk of the inhabitants already in the land under the Roman Empire; and it was here that the new kingdoms first took shape. Through a reflex action their influence then extended back into the cold forests from which the invaders had come, and Germany and Scandinavia witnessed the rise of communities with essentially the same civilization as their southern neighbors; though in those communities, unlike the southern communities, there was no infusion of new blood, and in each case the new civilized nation which gradually developed was composed entirely of members of the same race which in the same region had for ages lived the life of a slowly changing barbarism. The same was true of the Slavs and the Slavonized Finns of eastern Europe, when an infiltration of Scandinavian leaders from the north and an infiltration of Byzantine culture from the south joined to produce the changes which have gradually, out of the little Slav communities of the forest and the steppe, formed the mighty Russian Empire of to-day.

Again, the new form may represent merely a splitting off from a long-established, highly developed and specialized nation. In this case the nation is usually spoken of as a "young," and is correctly spoken of as a "new," nation; but the term should always be used with a clear sense of the difference between what is described in such case and what is described by the same term in speaking of a civilized nation just developed from a barbarism. Carthage and Syracuse were new cities compared with Tyre and Corinth; but the Greek or Phœnician race was in every sense of the word as old in the new city as in the old city. So, nowadays, Victoria or Manitoba is a new community compared with England or Scotland; but the ancestral type of civilization and culture is as old in one case as in the other. I of course do not mean for a moment that great changes are not produced by the mere fact that the old civilized race is suddenly placed in surroundings where it has again to go through the work of taming the wilderness, a work finished many centuries before in the original home of the race; I merely mean that the ancestral history is the same in each

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case. We can rightly use the phrase "a new people" in speaking of Canadians or Australians, Americans or Afrikanders. But we use it in an entirely different sense from that in which we use it when speaking of such communities as those founded by the Northmen and their descendants during that period of astonishing growth which saw the descendants of the Norse sea-thieves conquer and transform Normandy, Sicily, and the British Islands; we use it in an entirely different sense from that in which we use it when speaking of the new states that grew up around Warsaw, Kief, Novgorod, and Moscow, as the wild savages of the steppes and the marshy forests struggled haltingly and stumblingly upward to become builders of cities and to form stable governments. The kingdoms of Charlemagne and Alfred were "new," compared with the empire on the Bosphorus; they were also in every way different; their lines of ancestral descent had nothing in common with those of the polyglot realm which paid tribute to the Cæsars of Byzantium; their social problems and aftertime history were totally different. This is not true of those "new" nations which spring direct from old nations. Brazil, the Argentine, the United States, are all "new" nations, compared with the nations of Europe; but, with whatever changes in detail, their civilization is nevertheless of the general European type, as shown in Portugal, Spain, and England. The differences between these "new" American and these "old" European nations are not as great as those which separate the "new" nations one from another and the "old" nations one from another. There are in each case very real differences between the new and the old nation—differences both for good and for evil; but in each case there is the same ancestral history to reckon with, the same type of civilization, with its attendant benefits and shortcomings; and, after the pioneer stages are passed, the problems to be solved, in spite of superficial differences, are in their essence the same; they are those that confront all civilized peoples, not those that confront peoples struggling from barbarism into civilization.

So, when we speak of the "death" of a tribe, a nation, or a civilization, the term may be used for either one or two totally different processes; the analogy with what occurs in biological history being complete. Certain tribes of savages, the Tasmanians, for instance, and various little clans of American Indians, have within the last century or two completely died out; all of the individuals have perished, leaving no descendants, and the blood has disappeared. Certain other tribes of Indians have as tribes disappeared or are now disappearing; but their blood remains, being absorbed into the veins of the white intruders, or of the black men introduced by these white intruders; so that in reality they are merely being transformed into something absolutely different from what they were. In the United States, in the new State of Oklahoma, the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Delawares, and other tribes are in process of absorption into the mass of the white population; when the State was admitted, a couple of years ago, one of the two Senators and three of the five Representatives in Congress were partly of Indian blood. In but a few years these Indian tribes will have disappeared as completely as those that have actually died out; but the disappearance will be by absorption and transformation into the mass of the American population.

A like wide diversity in fact may be covered in the statement that a civilization has "died out." The nationality and culture of the wonderful city-builders of the lower Mesopotamian Plain have completely disappeared, and though doubtless certain influences dating therefrom are still at work, they are in such changed and hidden form as to be unrecognizable. But the disappearance of the Roman Empire was of no such character. There was complete change, far-reaching transformation, and at one period a violent dislocation; but it would not be correct to speak either of the blood or the culture of old Rome as extinct. We are not yet in a position to dogmatize as to the permanence or evanescence of the various strains of blood that go to make up every civilized nationality; but it is reasonably certain that the blood of the old Roman still flows through the veins of the modern Italian; and though there has been much intermixture, from many different foreign

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sources—from foreign conquerors and from foreign slaves—yet it is probable that the Italian type of to-day finds its dominant ancestral type in the ancient Latin. As for the culture, the civilization of Rome, this is even more true. It has suffered a complete transformation, partly by natural growth, partly by absorption of totally alien elements, such as a Semitic religion, and certain Teutonic governmental and social customs; but the process was not one of extinction, but one of growth and transformation, both from within and by the accretion of outside elements. In France and Spain the inheritance of Latin blood is small; but the Roman culture which was forced on these countries has been tenaciously retained by them throughout all their subsequent ethnical and political changes, as the basis on which their civilizations have been built. Moreover, the permanent spreading of Roman influence was not limited to Europe. It has extended to and over half of that new world which was not even dreamed of during the thousand years of brilliant life between the birth and the death of Pagan Rome. This new world was discovered by one Italian, and its mainland first reached and named by another; and in it, over a territory many times the size of Trajan's empire, the Spanish, French, and Portuguese adventurers founded, beside the St. Lawrence and the Amazon, along the flanks of the Andes and in the shadow of the snow-capped volcanoes of Mexico, from the Rio Grande to the Straits of Magellan, communities, now flourishing and growing apace, which in speech and culture, and even as regards one strain in their blood, are the lineal heirs of the ancient Latin civilization. When we speak of the disappearance, the passing away, of ancient Babylon or Nineveh, and of ancient Rome, we are using the same terms to describe totally different phenomena.

The anthropologist and the historian of to-day realize much more clearly than their predecessors of a couple of generations back how artificial most great nationalities are, and how loose is the terminology usually employed to describe them. There is an element of unconscious and rather pathetic humor in the simplicity of half a century ago which spoke of the Aryan and the Teuton with reverential admiration, as if the words denoted, not merely something definite, but something ethnologically sacred; the writers having much the same pride and faith in their own and their fellow-countrymen's purity of descent from these imaginary Aryan or Teutonic ancestors that was felt a few generations earlier by the various noble families who traced their lineage direct to Odin, Æneas, or Noah. Nowadays, of course, all students recognize that there may not be, and often is not, the slightest connection between kinship in blood and kinship in tongue. In America we find three races, white, red, and black, and three tongues, English, French, and Spanish, mingled in such a way that the lines of cleavage of race continually run at right angles to the lines of cleavage of speech; there being communities practically of pure blood of each race found speaking each language. Aryan and Teutonic are terms having very definite linguistic meanings; but whether they have any such ethnical meanings as were formerly attributed to them is so doubtful that we cannot even be sure whether the ancestors of most of those we call Teutons originally spoke an Aryan tongue at all. The term Celtic, again, is perfectly clear when used linguistically; but when used to describe a race it means almost nothing until we find out which one of several totally different terminologies the writer or speaker is adopting. If, for instance, it is used to designate the short-headed, medium-sized type common throughout Middle Europe, from east to west, it denotes something entirely different from what is meant when the name is applied to the tall, yellow-haired opponents of the Romans and the later Greeks; while if used to designate any modern nationality, it becomes about as loose and meaningless as the term Anglo-Saxon itself.

Most of the great societies which have developed a high civilization and have played a dominant part in the world have been—and are—artificial, not merely in social structure, but in the sense of including totally different race types. A great nation rarely belongs to any one race, though its citizens generally have one essentially national speech. Yet the curious fact remains that these great artificial societies acquire such unity that

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in each one all the parts feel a subtle sympathy, and move or cease to move, go forward or go back, all together, in response to some stir or throbbing, very powerful, and yet not to be discerned by our senses. National unity is far more apt than race unity to be a fact to reckon with; until indeed we come to race differences as fundamental as those which divide from one another the half-dozen great ethnic divisions of mankind, when they became so important that differences of nationality, speech, and creed sink into littleness.

An ethnological map of Europe in which the peoples were divided according to their physical and racial characteristics, such as stature, coloration, and shape of head, would bear no resemblance whatever to a map giving the political divisions, the nationalities, of Europe; while, on the contrary, a linguistic map would show a general correspondence between speech and nationality. The northern Frenchman is in blood and physical type more nearly allied to his German-speaking neighbor than to the Frenchman of the Mediterranean seaboard; and the latter, in his turn, is nearer to the Catalan than to the man who dwells beside the Channel or along the tributaries of the Rhine. But in essential characteristics, in the qualities that tell in the make-up of a nationality, all these kinds of Frenchmen feel keenly that they are one and are different from all outsiders, their differences dwindling into insignificance compared with the extraordinary, artificially produced resemblances which bring them together and wall them off from the outside world. The same is true when we compare the German who dwells where the Alpine springs of the Danube and the Rhine interlace, with the physically different German of the Baltic lands. The same is true of Kentishman, Cornishman, and Yorkshireman in England.

In dealing, not with groups of human beings in simple and primitive relations, but with highly complex, highly specialized, civilized or semi-civilized societies, there is need of great caution in drawing analogies with what has occurred in the development of the animal world. Yet even in these cases it is curious to see how some of the phenomena in the growth and disappearance of these complex, artificial groups of human beings resemble what has happened in myriads of instances in the history of life on this planet.

Why do great artificial empires, whose citizens are knit by a bond of speech and culture much more than by a bond of blood, show periods of extraordinary growth, and again of sudden or lingering decay? In some cases we can answer readily enough; in other cases we cannot as yet even guess what the proper answer should be. If in any such case the centrifugal forces overcome the centripetal, the nation will of course fly to pieces, and the reason for its failure to become a dominant force is patent to every one. The minute that the spirit which finds its healthy development in local self-government, and is the antidote to the dangers of an extreme centralization, develops into mere particularism, into inability to combine effectively for achievement of a common end, then it is hopeless to expect great results. Poland and certain Republics of the Western Hemisphere are the standard examples of failure of this kind; and the United States would have ranked with them, and its name would have become a byword of derision, if the forces of union had not triumphed in the Civil War. So the growth of soft luxury after it has reached a certain point becomes a national danger patent to all. Again, it needs but little of the vision of a seer to foretell what must happen in any community if the average woman ceases to become the mother of a family of healthy children, if the average man loses the will and the power to work up to old age and to fight whenever the need arises. If the homely, commonplace virtues die out, if strength of character vanishes in graceful self-indulgence, if the virile qualities atrophy, then the nation has lost what no material prosperity can offset.

But there are plenty of other phenomena wholly or partially inexplicable. It is easy to see why Rome trended downward when great slave-tilled farms spread over what had once been a countryside of peasant proprietors, when greed and luxury and sensuality ate like acids into the fiber of the upper classes, while the mass of the citizens grew to depend, not upon

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their own exertions, but upon the State, for their pleasures and their very livelihood. But this does not explain why the forward movement stopped at different times, so far as different matters were concerned; at one time as regards literature, at another time as regards architecture, at another time as regards city-building. There is nothing mysterious about Rome's dissolution at the time of the barbarian invasions; apart from the impoverishment and depopulation of the Empire, its fall would be quite sufficiently explained by the mere fact that the average citizen had lost the fighting edge—an essential even under a despotism, and therefore far more essential in free, self-governing communities such as those of the English-speaking peoples of to-day. The mystery is rather that out of the chaos and corruption of Roman society during the last days of the oligarchic republic there should have sprung an empire able to hold things with reasonable steadiness for three or four centuries. But why, for instance, should the higher kinds of literary productiveness have ceased about the beginning of the second century, whereas the following centuries witnessed a great outbreak of energy in the shape of city-building in the provinces, not only in western Europe, but in Africa? We cannot even guess why the springs of one kind of energy dried up while there was yet no cessation of another kind.

Take another and smaller instance, that of Holland. For a period covering a little more than the seventeenth century, Holland, like some of the Italian city states at an earlier period, stood on the dangerous heights of greatness beside nations so vastly her superior in territory and population as to make it inevitable that sooner or later she must fall from the glorious and perilous eminence to which she had been raised by her own indomitable soul. Her fall came; it could not have been indefinitely postponed; but it came far quicker than it needed to come, because of shortcomings on her part to which both Great Britain and the United States would be wise to pay heed. Her government was singularly ineffective, the decentralization being such as often to permit the separatist, the particularist, spirit of the provinces to rob the central authority of all efficiency. This was bad enough. But the fatal weakness was that so common in rich, peace-loving societies, where men hate to think of war as possible, and try to justify their own reluctance to face it either by high-sounding moral platitudes or else by a philosophy of short-sighted materialism. The Dutch were very wealthy. They grew to believe that they could hire others to do their fighting for them on land; and on sea, where they did their own fighting, and fought very well, they refused in time of peace to make ready fleets so efficient as either to insure the Dutch against the peace being broken or else to give them the victory when war came. To be opulent and unarmed is to secure ease in the present at the almost certain cost of disaster in the future.

It is therefore easy to see why Holland lost when she did her position among the Powers; but it is far more difficult to explain why at the same time there should have come at least a partial loss of position in the world of art and letters. Some spark of divine fire burned itself out in the national soul. As the line of great statesmen, of great warriors, by land and sea, came to an end, so the line of the great Dutch painters ended. The loss of pre-eminence in the schools followed the loss of pre-eminence in camp and in council chamber.

In the little republic of Holland, as in the great empire of Rome, it was not death which came, but transformation. Both Holland and Italy teach us that races that fall may rise again. In Holland, as in the Scandinavian kingdoms of Norway and Sweden, there was, in a sense, no decadence at all. There was nothing analogous to what has befallen so many countries; no lowering of the general standard of well-being, no general loss of vitality, no depopulation. What happened was, first, a flowering time, in which the country's men of action and men of thought gave it a commanding position among the nations of the day; then this period of command passed, and the State revolved in an eddy, aside from the sweep of the mighty current of world life; and yet the people themselves in their internal relations remained substantially unchanged, and in many fields of endeavor have now

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recovered themselves and play again a leading part.

In Italy, where history is recorded for a far longer time, the course of affairs was different. When the Roman Empire, that was really Roman, went down in ruin, there followed an interval of centuries when the gloom was almost unrelieved. Every form of luxury and frivolity, of contemptuous repugnance for serious work, of enervating self-indulgence, every form of vice and weakness which we regard as most ominous in the civilization of to-day, had been at work throughout Italy for generations. The nation had lost all patriotism. It had ceased to bring forth fighters or workers, had ceased to bring forth men of mark of any kind, and the remnant of the Italian people cowered in helpless misery among the horse-hoofs of the barbarians as the wild northern bands rode in to take the land for a prey and the cities for a spoil. It was one of the great cataclysms of history, but in the end it was seen that what came had been in part change and growth. It was not all mere destruction. Not only did Rome leave a vast heritage of language, culture, law, ideas, to all the modern world, but the people of Italy kept the old blood as the chief strain in their veins. In a few centuries came a wonderful new birth of Italy. Then for four or five hundred years there was a growth of many little city states which, in their energy both in peace and war, in their fierce, fervent life, in the high quality of their men of arts and letters, and in their utter inability to combine so as to preserve order among themselves or to repel outside invasion, can not unfairly be compared with classic Greece. Again Italy fell, and the land was ruled by Spaniard or Frenchman or Austrian; and again, in the nineteenth century, there came for the third time a wonderful new birth.

Contrast this persistence of the old type in its old home and in certain lands which it had conquered with its utter disappearance in certain other lands where it was intrusive, but where it at one time seemed as firmly established as in Italy—certainly as in Spain or Gaul. No more curious example of the growth and disappearance of a national type can be found than in the case of the Græco-Roman dominion in western Asia and northern Africa. All told, it extended over nearly a thousand years, from the days of Alexander till after the time of Heraclius. Throughout these lands there yet remain the ruins of innumerable cities which tell how firmly rooted that dominion must once have been. The overshadowing and far-reaching importance of what occurred is sufficiently shown by the familiar fact that the New Testament was written in Greek; while to the early Christians North Africa seemed as much a Latin land as Sicily or the valley of the Po. The intrusive peoples and their culture flourished in the lands for a period twice as long as that which has elapsed since modern history, with the voyage of Columbus, may fairly be said to have begun; and then they withered like dry grass before the flame of the Arab invasion, and their place knew them no more. They overshadowed the ground; they vanished; and the old types reappeared in their old homes, with beside them a new type, the Arab.

Now, as to all these changes we can at least be sure of the main facts. We know that the Hollander remains in Holland, though the greatness of Holland has passed; we know that the Latin blood remains in Italy, whether to a greater or less extent; and that the Latin culture has died out in the African realm it once won, while it has lasted in Spain and France, and thence has extended itself to continents beyond the ocean. We may not know the causes of the facts, save partially; but the facts themselves we do know. But there are other cases in which we are at present ignorant even of the facts; we do not know what the changes really were, still less the hidden causes and meaning of those changes. Much remains to be found out before we can speak with any certainty as to whether some changes mean the actual dying out or the mere transformation of types. It is, for instance, astonishing how little permanent change in the physical make-up of the people seems to have been worked in Europe by the migrations of the races in historic times. A tall, fair-haired, long-skulled race penetrates to some southern country and establishes a commonwealth. The generations pass. There is no violent revolution, no break in continuity of

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history, nothing in the written records to indicate an epoch-making change at any given moment; and yet after a time we find that the old type has reappeared and that the people of the locality do not substantially differ in physical form from the people of other localities that did not suffer such an invasion. Does this mean that gradually the children of the invaders have dwindled and died out; or, as the blood is mixed with the ancient blood, has there been a change, part reversion and part assimilation, to the ancient type in its old surroundings? Do tint of skin, eyes, and hair, shape of skull, and stature, change in the new environment, so as to be like those of the older people who dwelt in this environment? Do the intrusive races, without change of blood, tend, under the pressure of their new surroundings, to change in type so as to resemble the ancient peoples of the land? Or, as the strains mingled, has the new strain dwindled and vanished, from causes as yet obscure? Has the blood of the Lombard practically disappeared from Italy, and of the Visigoth from Spain, or does it still flow in large populations where the old physical type has once more become dominant? Here in England, the long-skulled men of the long barrows, the short-skulled men of the round barrows, have they blended, or has one or the other type actually died out; or are they merged in some older race which they seemingly supplanted, or have they adopted the tongue and civilization of some later race which seemingly destroyed them? We cannot say. We do not know which of the widely different stocks now speaking Aryan tongues represents in physical characteristics the ancient Aryan type, nor where the type originated, nor how or why it imposed its language on other types, nor how much or how little mixture of blood accompanied the change of tongue.

The phenomena of national growth and decay, both those which can and those which cannot be explained, have been peculiarly in evidence during the four centuries that have gone by since the discovery of America and the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope. These have been the four centuries of by far the most intense and constantly accelerating rapidity of movement and development that the world has yet seen. The movement has covered all the fields of human activity. It has witnessed an altogether unexampled spread of civilized mankind over the world, as well as an altogether unexampled advance in man's dominion over nature; and this, together with a literary and artistic activity to be matched in but one previous epoch. This period of extension and development has been that of one race, the so-called white race, or, to speak more accurately, the group of peoples living in Europe who undoubtedly have a certain kinship of blood, who profess the Christian religion and trace back their culture to Greece and Rome.

The memories of men are short, and it is easy to forget how brief is this period of unquestioned supremacy of the so-called white race. It is but a thing of yesterday. During the thousand years which went before the opening of this era of European supremacy, the attitude of Asia and Africa, of Hun and Mongol, Turk and Tartar, Arab and Moor, had on the whole been that of successful aggression against Europe. More than a century passed after the voyages of Columbus before the mastery in war began to pass from the Asiatic to the European. During that time Europe produced no generals or conquerors able to stand comparison with Selim and Solyman, Baber and Akbar. Then the European advance gathered momentum, until at the present time peoples of European blood hold dominion over all America and Australia and the islands of the sea, over most of Africa, and the major half of Asia. Much of this world conquest is merely political, and such a conquest is always likely in the long run to vanish. But very much of it represents not a merely political but an ethnic conquest; the intrusive people having either exterminated or driven out the conquered peoples, or else having imposed upon them its tongue, law, culture, and religion, together with a strain of its blood. During this period substantially all of the world achievements worth remembering are to be credited to the people of European descent. The first exception of any consequence is the wonderful rise of Japan within the last generation—a phenomenon unexampled in history, for both in blood and in culture the Japanese

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line of ancestral descent is as remote as possible from ours, and yet Japan, while hitherto keeping most of what was strongest in her ancient character and traditions, has assimilated with curious completeness most of the characteristics that have given power and leadership to the West.

During this period of intense and feverish activity among the peoples of European stock, first one and then another has taken the lead. The movement began with Spain and Portugal. Their flowering time was as brief as it was wonderful. The gorgeous pages of their annals are illumined by the figures of warriors, explorers, statesmen, poets, and painters. Then their days of greatness ceased. Many partial explanations can be given, but something remains behind, some hidden force for evil, some hidden source of weakness, upon which we cannot lay our hands. Yet there are many signs that in the New World, after centuries of arrested growth, the peoples of Spanish and Portuguese stock are entering upon another era of development, and there are other signs that this is true also in the Iberian peninsula itself.

About the time that the first brilliant period of the leadership of the Iberian peoples was drawing to a close, at the other end of Europe, in the land of melancholy steppe and melancholy forest, the Slav turned in his troubled sleep and stretched out his hand to grasp leadership and dominion. Since then almost every nation of Europe has at one time or another sought a place in the movement of expansion; but for the last three centuries the great phenomenon of mankind has been the growth of the English-speaking peoples and their spread over the world's waste spaces.

Comparison is often made between the Empire of Britain and the Empire of Rome. When judged relatively to the effect on all modern civilization, the Empire of Rome is of course the more important, simply because the nations of Europe and their offshoots in other continents trace back their culture either to the earlier Rome by the Tiber or the later Rome by the Bosphorus. The Empire of Rome is the most stupendous fact in lay history; no empire later in time can be compared with it. But this is merely another way of saying that the nearer the source the more important becomes any deflection of the stream's current. Absolutely, comparing the two empires one with the other in point of actual achievement, and disregarding the immensely increased effect on other civilizations which inhered in the older empire because it antedated the younger by a couple of thousand years, there is little to choose between them as regards the wide and abounding interest and importance of their careers.

In the world of antiquity each great empire rose when its predecessor had already crumbled. By the time that Rome loomed large over the horizon of history, there were left for her to contend with only decaying civilizations and raw barbarisms. When she conquered Pyrrhus, she strove against the strength of but one of the many fragments into which Alexander's kingdom had fallen. When she conquered Carthage, she overthrew a foe against whom for two centuries the single Greek city of Syracuse had contended on equal terms; it was not the sepoy armies of the Carthaginian plutocracy, but the towering genius of the House of Barca, which rendered the struggle forever memorable. It was the distance and the desert, rather than the Parthian horse-bowman, that set bounds to Rome in the east; and on the north her advance was curbed by the vast reaches of marshy woodland, rather than by the tall barbarians who dwelt therein. During the long generations of her greatness, and until the sword dropped from her withered hand, the Parthian was never a menace of aggression, and the German threatened her but to die.

On the contrary, the great expansion of England has occurred, the great empire of Britain has been achieved, during the centuries that have also seen mighty military nations rise and flourish on the continent of Europe. It is as if Rome, while creating and keeping the empire she won between the days of Scipio and the days of Trajan, had at the same time held her own with the Nineveh of Sargon and Tiglath, the Egypt of Thothmes and Rameses, and the kingdoms of Persia and Macedon in the red flush of their warrior-dawn. The empire of Britain is vaster in space,

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in population, in wealth, in wide variety of possession, in a history of multiplied and manifold achievement of every kind, than even the glorious empire of Rome. Yet, unlike Rome, Britain has won dominion in every clime, has carried her flag by conquest and settlement to the uttermost ends of the earth, at the very time that haughty and powerful rivals, in their abounding youth or strong maturity, were eager to set bounds to her greatness, and to tear from her what she had won afar. England has peopled continents with her children, has swayed the destinies of teeming myriads of alien race, has ruled ancient monarchies, and wrested from all comers the right to the world's waste spaces, while at home she has held her own before nations each of military power comparable to Rome's at her zenith.

Rome fell by attack from without, only because the ills within her own borders had grown incurable. What is true of your country, my hearers, is true of my own; while we should be vigilant against foes from without, yet we need never really fear them so long as we safeguard ourselves against the enemies within our own households; and these enemies are our own passions and follies. Free peoples can escape being mastered by others only by being able to master themselves. We Americans, and you people of the British Isles, alike, need ever to keep in mind that, among the many qualities indispensable to the success of a great democracy, and second only to a high and stern sense of duty, of moral obligation, are self-knowledge and self-mastery. You, my hosts, and I may not agree in all our views; some of you would think me a very radical democrat—as, for the matter of that, I am; and my theory of imperialism would probably suit the anti-imperialists as little as it would suit a certain type of forcible-feeble imperialist. But there are some points on which we must all agree if we think soundly. The precise form of government, democratic or otherwise, is the instrument, the tool, with which we work. It is important to have a good tool. But, even if it is the best possible, it is only a tool. No implement can ever take the place of the guiding intelligence that wields it. A very bad tool will ruin the work of the best craftsman; but a good tool in bad hands is no better. In the last analysis the all-important factor in national greatness is national character.

There are questions which we of the great civilized nations are ever tempted to ask of the future. Is our time of growth drawing to an end? Are we as nations soon to come under the rule of that great law of death which is itself but part of the great law of life? None can tell. Forces that we can see and other forces that are hidden or that can but dimly be apprehended are at work all around us, both for good and for evil. The growth in luxury, in love of ease, in taste for vapid and frivolous excitement, is both evident and unhealthy. The most ominous sign is the diminution in the birth-rate, in the rate of natural increase, now to a larger or lesser degree shared by most of the civilized nations of central and western Europe, of America and Australia; a diminution so great that if it continues for the next century at the rate which has obtained for the last twenty-five years, all the more highly civilized peoples will be stationary or else have begun to go backward in population, while many of them will have already gone very far backward.

There is much that should give us concern for the future. But there is much also which should give us hope. No man is more apt to be mistaken than the prophet of evil. After the French Revolution in 1830, Niebuhr hazarded the guess that all civilization was about to go down with a crash, that we were all about to share the fall of third and fourth century Rome—a respectable but painfully overworked comparison. The fears once expressed by the followers of Malthus as to the future of the world have proved groundless as regards the civilized portion of the world; it is strange indeed to look back at Carlyle's prophecies of some seventy years ago, and then think of the teeming life of achievement, the life of conquest of every kind, and of noble effort crowned by success, which has been ours for the two generations since he complained to high Heaven that all the tales had been told and all the songs sung, and that all the deeds really worth doing had been done. I believe with all my heart that a great future remains for us; but

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whether it does or does not, our duty is not altered. However the battle may go, the soldier worthy of the name will with utmost vigor do his allotted task, and bear himself as valiantly in defeat as in victory. Come what will, we belong to peoples who have not yielded to the craven fear of being great. In the ages that have gone by, the great nations, the nations that have expanded and that have played a mighty part in the world, have in the end grown old and weakened and vanished; but so have the nations whose only thought was to avoid all danger, all effort, who would risk nothing, and who therefore gained nothing. In the end the same fate may overwhelm all alike; but the memory of the one type perishes with it, while the other leaves its mark deep on the history of all the future of mankind.

A nation that seemingly dies may be born again; and even though in the physical sense it die utterly, it may yet hand down a history of heroic achievement, and for all time to come may profoundly influence the nations that arise in its place by the impress of what it has done. Best of all is it to do our part well, and at the same time to see our blood live young and vital in men and women fit to take up the task as we lay it down; for so shall our seed inherit the earth. But if this, which is best, is denied us, then at least it is ours to remember that if we choose we can be torch-bearers, as our fathers were before us. The torch has been handed on from nation to nation, from civilization to civilization, throughout all recorded time, from the dim years before history dawned, down to the blazing splendor of this teeming century of ours. It dropped from the hand of the coward and the sluggard, of the man wrapped in luxury or love of ease, the man whose soul was eaten away by self-indulgence; it has been kept alight only by those who were mighty of heart and cunning of hand. What they worked at, providing it was worth doing at all, was of less matter than how they worked, whether in the realm of the mind or the realm of the body. If their work was good, if what they achieved was of substance, then high success was really theirs.

In the first part of this lecture I drew certain analogies between what had occurred to forms of animal life through the procession of the ages on this planet, and what has occurred and is occurring to the great artificial civilizations which have gradually spread over the world's surface during the thousands of years that have elapsed since cities of temples and palaces first rose beside the Nile and the Euphrates, and the harbors of Minoan Crete bristled with the masts of the Ægean craft. But of course the parallel is true only in the roughest and most general way. Moreover, even between the civilizations of to-day and the civilizations of ancient times there are differences so profound that we must be cautious in drawing any conclusions for the present based on what has happened in the past. While freely admitting all of our follies and weaknesses of to-day, it is yet mere perversity to refuse to realize the incredible advance that has been made in ethical standards. I do not believe that there is the slightest necessary connection between any weakening of virile force and this advance in the moral standard, this growth of the sense of obligation to one's neighbor and of reluctance to do that neighbor wrong. We need have scant patience with that silly cynicism which insists that kindliness of character only accompanies weakness of character. On the contrary, just as in private life many of the men of strongest character are the very men of loftiest and most exalted morality, so I believe that in national life as the ages go by we shall find that the permanent national types will more and more tend towards those in which, while the intellect stands high, character stands higher; in which rugged strength and courage, rugged capacity to resist wrongful aggression by others, will go hand in hand with a lofty scorn of doing wrong to others. This is the type of Timoleon, of Hampden, of Washington and Lincoln. These were as good men, as disinterested and unselfish men, as ever served a State; and they were also as strong men as ever founded or saved a State. Surely such examples prove that there is nothing Utopian in our effort to combine justice and strength in the same nation. The really high civilizations must themselves supply the antidote to the self-indulgence and love of ease which they tend to produce.

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Every modern civilized nation has many and terrible problems to solve within its own borders, problems that arise not merely from juxtaposition of poverty and riches, but especially from the self-consciousness of both poverty and riches. Each nation must deal with these matters in its own fashion, and yet the spirit in which the problem is approached must ever be fundamentally the same. It must be a spirit of broad humanity; of brotherly kindness; of acceptance of responsibility, one for each and each for all; and at the same time a spirit as remote as the poles from every form of weakness and sentimentality. As in war to pardon the coward is to do cruel wrong to the brave man whose life his cowardice jeopardizes, so in civil affairs it is revolting to every principle of justice to give to the lazy, the vicious, or even the feeble and dull-witted, a reward which is really the robbery of what braver, wiser, abler men have earned. The only effective way to help any man is to help him to help himself; and the worst lesson to teach him is that he can be permanently helped at the expense of some one else. True liberty shows itself to best advantage in protecting the rights of others, and especially of minorities. Privilege should not be tolerated because it is to the advantage of a minority, nor yet because it is to the advantage of a majority. No doctrinaire theories of vested rights or freedom of contract can stand in the way of our cutting out abuses from the body politic. Just as little can we afford to follow the doctrinaires of an impossible—and incidentally of a highly undesirable—social revolution which, in destroying individual rights (including property rights) and the family, would destroy the two chief agents in the advance of mankind, and the two chief reasons why either the advance or the preservation of mankind is worth while. It is an evil and a dreadful thing to be callous to sorrow and suffering, and blind to our duty to do all things possible for the betterment of social conditions. But it is an unspeakably foolish thing to strive for this betterment by means so destructive that they would leave no social conditions to better. In dealing with all these social problems, with the intimate relations of the family, with wealth in private use and business use, with labor, with poverty, the one prime necessity is to remember that, though hardness of heart is a great evil, it is no greater an evil than softness of head.

But in addition to these problems, the most intimate and important of all, which to a larger or less degree affect all the modern nations somewhat alike, we of the great nations that have expanded, that are now in complicated relations with one another and with alien races, have special problems and special duties of our own. You belong to a nation which possesses the greatest empire upon which the sun has ever shone. I belong to a nation which is trying, on a scale hitherto unexampled, to work out the problems of government for, of, and by the people, while at the same time doing the international duty of a great power. But there are certain problems which both of us have to solve, and as to which our standards should be the same. The Englishman, the man of the British Isles, in his various homes across the seas, and the American, both at home and abroad, are brought into contact with utterly alien peoples, some with a civilization more ancient than our own, others still in, or having but recently arisen from, the barbarism which our people left behind ages ago. The problems that arise are of well-nigh inconceivable difficulty. They cannot be solved by the foolish sentimentality of stay-at-home people, with little patent recipes, and those cut-and-dried theories of the political nursery which have such limited applicability amid the crash of elemental forces. Neither can they be solved by the raw brutality of the men who, whether at home or on the rough frontier of civilization, adopt might as the only standard of right in dealing with other men, and treat alien races only as subjects for exploitation.

No hard and fast rule can be drawn as applying to all alien races, because they differ from one another far more widely than some of them differ from us. But there are one or two rules which must not be forgotten. In the long run, there can be no justification for one race managing or controlling another unless the management and control are exercised in the interest and for the benefit of that other

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race. This is what our peoples have in the main done, and must continue in the future in even greater degree to do, in India, Egypt, and the Philippines alike. In the next place, as regards every race, everywhere, at home or abroad, we cannot afford to deviate from the great rule of righteousness which bids us treat each man on his worth as a man. He must not be sentimentally favored because he belongs to a given race; he must not be given immunity in wrong-doing, or permitted to cumber the ground, or given other privileges which would be denied to the vicious and unfit among ourselves. On the other hand, where he acts in a way which would entitle him to respect and reward if he were of our own stock, he is just as much entitled to that respect and reward if he comes of another stock, even though that other stock produces a much smaller proportion of men of his type than does our own. This has nothing to do with social intermingling, with what is called social equality. It has to do merely with the question of doing to each man and each woman that elementary justice which will permit him or her to gain from life the reward which should always accompany thrift, sobriety, self-control, respect for the rights of others, and hard and intelligent work to a given end. To more than such just treatment no man is entitled, and less than such just treatment no man should receive.

The other type of duty is the international duty, the duty owed by one nation to another. I hold that the laws of morality which should govern individuals in their dealings one with the other are just as binding concerning nations in their dealings one with the other. The application of the moral law must be different in the two cases, because in one case it has, and in the other it has not, the sanction of a civil law with force behind it. The individual can depend for his rights upon the courts, which themselves derive their force from the police power of the State. The nation can depend upon nothing of the kind; and therefore, as things are now, it is the highest duty of the most advanced and freest peoples to keep themselves in such a state of readiness as to forbid to any barbarism or despotism the hope of arresting the progress of the world by striking down the nations that lead in that progress. It would be foolish indeed to pay heed to the unwise persons who desire disarmament to be begun by the very peoples who, of all others, should not be left helpless before any possible foe. But we must reprobate quite as strongly both the leaders and the peoples who practice, or encourage or condone, aggression and iniquity by the strong at the expense of the weak. We should tolerate lawlessness and wickedness neither by the weak nor by the strong; and both weak and strong we should in return treat with scrupulous fairness. The foreign policy of a great and self-respecting country should be conducted on exactly the same plane of honor, of insistence upon one's own rights and of respect for the rights of others, as when a brave and honorable man is dealing with his fellows. Permit me to support this statement out of my own experience. For nearly eight years I was the head of a great nation and charged especially with the conduct of its foreign policy; and during those years I took no action with reference to any other people on the face of the earth that I would not have felt justified in taking as an individual in dealing with other individuals.

I believe that we of the great civilized nations of to-day have a right to feel that long careers of achievement lie before our several countries. To each of us is vouchsafed the honorable privilege of doing his part, however small, in that work. Let us strive hardily for success even if by so doing we risk failure, spurning the poorer souls of small endeavor who know neither failure nor success. Let us hope that our own blood shall continue in the land, that our children and children's children to endless generations shall arise to take our places and play a mighty and dominant part in the world. But whether this be denied or granted by the years we shall not see, let at least the satisfaction be ours that we have carried onward the lighted torch in our own day and generation. If we do this, then, as our eyes close, and we go out into the darkness, and other hands grasp the torch, at least we can say that our part has been borne well and valiantly.

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THE NEW KING AND QUEEN

BY LADY ST. HELIER

AUTHOR OF "MEMORIES OF FIFTY YEARS"

IT is one of life's saddest ironies, and yet in a certain way a consolation, that no one's life is indispensable, and that there is always some one ready to step into the vacant place and to fill it competently. Existence would not be possible otherwise. A merciful Providence, circumstances, and surroundings have given even a less terrible aspect to death and the void it makes. It is not a question of oblivion or forgetfulness, for while memory lasts there is no death in the sense of those one loves being forgotten. There is in truth an immortality in their work, which has to be carried on with the same object and under circumstances and traditions modified possibly, yet always bearing the impress of their influence and labor.

In no portion of life is this more true than in the lives of public men, and especially in that of a man who, like King Edward VII, became in his short reign a power greater than almost any other crowned head in the history of his country during the last two hundred years. When Queen Victoria died, the first feeling of the English people was one of curiosity, and almost doubt, as to whether her successor could ever take her place—one so unique, one created by a sense of duty, a high standard of life, and a rigid constitutionalism.

The Prince of Wales had always been well known and intensely popular in the country; but his greatest and most striking characteristic, and one to which he had adhered with remarkable consistency, was his complete abstinence from any interference in State affairs, so that while we recognized his tact, his unfailing readiness to perform any duty that devolved on him, his untiring labor in all the social and philanthropic work that fell to his hand, he gave no indication of the wisdom, tact, and ability which he developed on his succession in the weightier and more important affairs that must come before the Sovereign for discussion and often ultimate decision. What his short reign accomplished is now history—the title of Peacemaker was one he nobly earned; and his whole reign as King was one of absolute devotion to the greater and more important affairs of State, though his interest and sympathy in the pursuits and occupations of the many long years of probation never diminished; and now a sorrowing people are mourning for him with a more passionate sorrow even than that which they manifested at the death of the late Queen, realizing how, in every sense of the word, he was a wise, able, and, indeed, one of the greatest of our constitutional kings.

And now, on the threshold of a new epoch, we are wondering and asking ourselves, Is the new reign to be as full of joyful surprises, of unexpected developments, of as much self-sacrifice and earnest work for the people, as that of the King whom we have laid to rest with his ancestors?

There have not been many indications in the life of King George to guide us as to what his influence on the destinies of his country is likely to be. He has not shown any very distinct predilections, either politically or socially, and during the life of King Edward he occupied a distinctly less prominent position than his father did when Prince of Wales. From his great vitality, his love of work, King Edward was the person who filled the public eye. Many of the smaller though none the less important details which usually fall to the lot of the Sovereign were during the reign of Queen Victoria performed by the then Prince of Wales; this brought him into public view and in touch with all classes more than if he had, like King George, occupied a less prominent place while Heir Apparent. Even the short period before King George became heir to the throne brought him very little into prominence, as he was a keen sailor and devoted to his profession, which kept him more abroad or at our great naval stations than in the every-day life of his family. He was an ardent sailor and a very good officer, always quiet and rather retiring in manner, but popular among his messmates and well thought of by his superiors. He

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had during his life at sea seen a long period of foreign service, and while in command and in charge of his ships was a careful and able officer. The sudden death of the Duke of Clarence changed his future and raised him to an unexpectedly high position, and since then he has been a most interesting and important personality. The Duke of Clarence's death shattered the hopes of the country, and the universal desire for a marriage with an English princess seemed doomed to disappointment. There was no member of the royal family more popular than Princess Mary, Duchess of Teck, and that her daughter should some day become Queen of England was the unspoken prayer of every one; for though the English royal family are of German descent, the fact that some members of it were born and brought up in England seemed to make them more than English born.

Princess Mary and her brother, the late Duke of Cambridge, were, like Queen Victoria, born and brought up in the British Isles; they had identified themselves in every way with the country's interests and sympathies, and there seemed a common bond in that fact which placed them in a different position in the eyes of every one in this country. German alliances were always viewed with cold approbation in England, and it was not until after the death of the Prince Consort that England repented of the grudging respect it had accorded to him as the husband of the Queen, and, though it thoroughly realized, too late, alas! how much the country owed to him, it was with a feeling of great relief that King Edward's betrothal to a Danish Princess was received. The beauty and the grace of the Princess Alexandra won every heart on her arrival, and that affection and admiration intensified as time went on. Because of the sterling qualities of her heart and head, her sympathy, and her womanly tenderness and devotion to the country of her adoption, she became not only Queen in name, but Queen in the hearts of all her people.

Coming to the throne on the death of so popular a sovereign as King Edward, the new King has not only a great example before him, but one he will follow and attempt, if possible, to emulate. The King is a voracious reader, and he is agreeable to talk to, and impresses every one with his calm, clear, resolute opinions on all subjects; his power of organizing and arranging facts in their correct relation to each other, and their bearing on the questions to which they belong, is very remarkable. He is a good linguist and he has the same wonderful memory as had his father, which is the most valuable possession for a man in his position; and that quickness of memory is applied, not only to facts and figures, but to faces. In appearance he does not resemble the Guelph family, but is like his mother's race, and the likeness between him and the Czar is very striking. He loves the country, its open-air sports and occupations. He is not a very good rider—few sailors are—but he is admittedly among the best shots in England, and shooting is the sport for which he has the greatest liking. He is a calm, temperate, careful man in all things in his life, and his judgment is not warped by any violent predilection for or dislike to any one particular opinion or policy. He is essentially a man who forms his own opinions, and is not easily influenced by the smaller events which so often weigh with a less determined character. He has in many ways a very distinct conception of the advisability, the wisdom or the weakness, of many questions which would cause infinite anxiety to many men who, though possibly more brilliant, have not the clear, distinct courage of their opinions. He has given evidence already of great business qualifications, and in the arrangement of all the solemn, the unexpected duties which devolved on him since his father died he has surprised every one by his calm capacity, while never overlooking or forgetting the smallest point which came before him for ratification. Indeed, one may truly say that the country looks to him in quiet confidence, being satisfied that in the troublous times before it we have a King who will not be moved by any consideration but that of what he considers his duty to the country. The deep affection and confidence which existed between the father and son has given King George some insight into the craft of kingship, as the pupil of a ruler who not only had a wide experience, a great knowledge of the

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world, and a longer knowledge of affairs than any other crowned head in Europe save the Emperor of Russia, and he has beside him in the Queen a woman of ability and experience, with a high standard of life, its duties and responsibilities.

The life and upbringing of all our royal family has been a simple one; no children have been less pampered and spoiled than those of the late King and Queen, and the naval training of King George has perhaps given him a greater experience of the rougher side of life. In his sailor days he lived with his messmates like any ordinary officer, and was in no way treated differently. The same course of education has been pursued with the Duke of Cornwall and Prince Albert. They have been in every way, like their comrades, inured to the sterner side of their profession, and no separate supervision as regards work or health was bestowed on them. The Queen gave a great exhibition only a month or two ago of her courage and good sense in the effect of her example to the parents of the cadets at Osborne, when a bad attack of influenza and scarlet fever, to which her son was a victim, broke out at the Naval College. Though the little Prince was very ill and she was very anxious, she did not fly to his bedside, knowing that she could do no more for him than was being done, and realizing how alarming the effect would be if she hurried off to her boy, who, though ill, was not in the same danger as other cadets, and that her going to him would only add to the anxieties of the already overworked staff, through the arrival of the parents of other sick boys, who would consider that they were justified in following her example. She passed some anxious hours, but was rewarded for her consideration and patience by the recovery of the little Prince. Many parents would consider their children overworked if they were expected to do as much as the royal children, though a good deal of instruction is given by example and by observation, and the whole atmosphere of the royal house is one which teems with an educational training possible only in such a position and where every incident of home or foreign interest and importance must be discussed. The whole monotonous machinery of education is hardly necessary in such a *milieu*, but, especially for that important part of the training of the royal family—namely, learning languages, for which, however, they possess a special gift—no education could be more complete or more ideal. The Duke of Cornwall is a good-looking, fair boy, well grown, more like his mother than the King, with charming, quiet manners; and he will be well prepared, when the time of his majority arrives and public work falls to his lot, to take his part in it with credit. We know little of the other royal children, and have seen but rare occasional glimpses of them. The only princess promises to be a tall, handsome girl, and also very like her mother.

It is not easy, as I have before indicated, to write with much authority on the new King and Queen, for their life has, as much as was compatible with their position, been one of retirement from official and public observation, while their real happiness has always been found in the happy home life, which has been as good and high an example as was perhaps ever set. In the love of their children, in the occupations of an English home life, the attentive completion of all duty thrown on them—inseparable from their position—the punctilious fulfillment of engagements, and the cheerful kindness and readiness always to give their support and recognition to the endless appeals from every organization which poured in on them, they have won the gratitude of thousands of workers who know how indescribably valuable their help has been. In the relations to the Crown of both King Edward and King George one characteristic has stood forth in striking contrast to those existing in former reigns. The position of the Heir Apparent with regard to the Sovereign is and must always be one of great delicacy, and yet one in which the Prince of Wales must always be prepared to support the Sovereign but not to appear in the smallest degree to encroach on his position. The late King gave a wonderful example to his subjects of what he considered the duty of the Heir Apparent. It was an open secret that there were incidents and questions of policy in the reign of Queen Victoria to which his sympathies were opposed, and yet he conceived it to be his highest duty as heir of

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the throne never to indicate in any way that he was not in complete accord with the policy she followed and the line of conduct she adopted. How strongly he felt on some matters and yet how completely he subordinated his own feelings to hers, in order that the strained relations which had often existed in other reigns should never arise, history will some day narrate. He felt that the strength of the Crown and its stability were greatly increased by the loyalty of the Heir Apparent, and it is a story which, when told, will greatly enhance the reputation of King Edward VII with regard to the high standard he attached to these relations. It has never been even whispered that there was ever a difference of opinion on the smallest or greatest question of policy between the late King and his successor, and King George was admitted to a greater measure of intimacy in affairs than was generally known. The late King realized how important—a vital necessity—some early initiation into affairs was to the Prince of Wales, and that conviction, coupled with the deep affection which existed between the father and son, made it a very real and important matter in both their lives.

Even in the small ceremonial details which play so important a part in court life the present King and Queen as Prince and Princess of Wales showed their affection for the King and their desire to conduct themselves in every matter with a tact and discretion admirable and yet little appreciated and recognized by the public at large. All these matters intensified the real affection that existed between King Edward and King George, and the words uttered in broken accents to the Privy Council on the day of King George's accession came from a heart full of the deepest sorrow, overwhelmed by the loss of his beloved father and a sense of the exceedingly heavy responsibilities which had fallen on him in so sudden and unexpected a fashion. The Queen Mother is devoted to the new King, and he has always given her the real affection which she cherished so deeply and which has been to her in these terrible days her greatest stay and comfort. In the knowledge of how fully he has done his duty to his parents and how great a solace his love has been to the widowed Queen King George has found his reward. In all things since the death of King Edward, even above the matters of State and the arrangements of the great funeral, which have all had to come before him for approval and suggestion, in the trying questions of precedence and etiquette, which, however trivial and unimportant, are not considered so in the gathering of Emperors, Kings, and Princes which followed King Edward to his last resting-place, King George has never forgotten his first and most pressing duty, that of attending personally to every wish of the Queen Mother, and by his daily and hourly presence helping to make the darkest moment of her life less dreary by his constant love and devotion. There are dark and troublous times before our new King. Constitutional matters affecting the Empire seldom equaled in importance and solemnity are awaiting solution, and yet the country has confidence in the new ruler in that the qualities by which he is best known to it give it a perfect guarantee of his high sense of duty and standard of life, and it looks forward with confidence to his influence on the destinies of the country.

It is difficult, perhaps, for people outside England to realize what the example of a happy home life, the fulfillment of the holiest of family duties, the sweet wholesomeness of an existence which can stand the glare of publicity, "the fierce light that beats on a crown," must have in England, where we attach an almost religious importance to such qualities. The country feels that in these qualities of unselfishness, thought for others, duty in its highest development, good common sense, and a full appreciation of the constitutional powers which he inherits, they have the assurance that the King will guide the Ship of State wisely, and that, while appreciating the strength of opinion on both sides of politics, he will not be deterred from what he regards as his duty by any consideration of fear or any desire for popularity. In all matters he will have the best advice that a man in his position can have, from men who have had wide experience and who are much attached to him personally. But, above and beyond all, he will have the maternal counsel and devoted affection of a woman who will, we believe, prove to be

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a great power in the State. Queen Mary is a woman of great intelligence, well read, an accomplished linguist, a great lover of art, with considerable gifts of her own. She has been brought up—frugally and carefully, for her parents were always poor—in a happy English home. She is English to the finger tips, and she is the daughter of one of the most beloved of all English princesses, by whom she was most carefully trained, and whose love, sympathy, and unselfishness she has inherited. Perhaps no one was more beloved than Princess Mary, her mother, whose name will always be kept in affectionate remembrance by the English people. In the marriage of her daughter to the heir to the throne the country saw the fulfillment of its dreams, hopes, and wishes, and her life after she became Princess of Wales only increased the love and respect of the people for her, and also the conviction that she would make a great and good Queen. She is naturally shy, and is not a person easy to know, but to her friends she is a great personality, and her affection for her husband and her children, her high ideal of life, and her deep sense of religious feeling have endeared her to all who come in contact with her. She has a royal look and bearing, and her queenly appearance and grace make her, from that point of view, a fitting successor to her beautiful predecessor. This, after all, is only one of the many items which go to swell her qualifications to be the consort of the greatest sovereign in the world. But more important and far less ephemeral are her sterling qualities, which give us all the most perfect confidence that she will make a worthy, helpful, and devoted consort to the King, who at no time in his reign will want the support and the whole-hearted devotion of a good and devoted woman more than at this most critical moment in the history of our country.

London, England.

MAY IN ROME

BY HAMILTON W. MABIE

IT was the well-considered remark of a man who knows Italy well that the problem in warm countries is not how to keep cool but how to keep warm. In this matter of temperature the opinion of the inexperienced is often as far from the fact as the opinion of the expert on the sanity of the prisoner at the bar who has innocently slain his fellow during a "brain-storm." The man from the bleak North who goes South in the fond hope of orange trees distilling fragrance in a genial air, and shivers over a grate-fire in a Charleston hotel or freezes in a drawing-room car while the mercury falls dangerously near zero as he approaches New Orleans, rapidly reconstructs his theory of weather in the semi-tropics.

All is not gold that glitters, even in Italy; but the moment one begins to set the pleasures of this land of art and poetry over against the discomforts he feels that the debit account is really negligible. There have been days of the sirocco, which is a skillfully devised and highly adaptable means of torture. Those who know it under its summer guise or have read about it in their geographies think of it as a hot, stifling wind bringing invisible sand from a burning desert at the south; and this is its aspect even on the Grand Canal in Venice in midsummer. But in winter and early spring it is a chilling breath, not of honest winter, but of an insidious and treacherous season intercalated between its legitimate fellows to remind Italy and Spain and the other Mediterranean peoples of their mortality. There are few illusions more uncomfortable in their swift evanescence than that it is always warm in Sicily and that Africa has only sunny fountains. In early March the railway between Tunis and Biskra, the old town so eloquently described in "The Garden of Allah," was snowbound for four days, and the remote hills about

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Rome were still glistening in the sun the first week in May.

Nevertheless, everybody who has seen these May days come through the gates of the Eternal City ought to count his fortune golden, for these have golden hours, when the sky has justified its right to be called heaven and the garden walls have spilled their fragrance lavishly into the streets. This sense of hidden sweetness which pervades Italy is one of the sources of that spell which it lays on so many people and holds them in voluntary exile from the places where their lives are rooted. When one has looked on the Bay of Naples from Capri, the bareness and hardness of the outlines and the monotony of tone of many good and useful communities at home are painfully obvious across three thousand miles of sea. And the feeling of mystery which an American feels everywhere in Europe is another element in the spell with which the Old World snares us. At home there are no walls with postern gates and deep-set doors overhung with vines which seem to open into all manner of secret places and tease the imagination with a sense of hidden beauty. At home we know where every closed door leads, and can place a house the moment we lay eyes on its front; on the Continent it is often a question which is the front, and in many cases there is none. The house faces a court rather than a street, and the congeries of structures, the projecting windows looking down on high-walled gardens, the picturesque irregularities which break the structural lines everywhere, invest an Old World town with all the possibilities of romance.

This hidden city assails one in every part of Rome. It is everywhere evidenced by great gusts of fragrance which intoxicate the imagination in narrow, high-built lanes, and by masses of roses which sway over the parapets, or glorious clusters of wistaria blooms which climb arbors and trellises that spring from unseen pleasure-grounds. Rome still has room for gardens in the heart of the throbbing modern town, as its palaces still stand in the busiest modern streets. It is still a capital and not a purely commercial city; a city, that is, which makes room for all the great interests of life—for beauty, for nature, for art, for history, as well as for contemporary business activity. So long as one comes upon its gardens, shedding perfume in narrow streets and flinging roses like a beautiful arras over its walls, Rome will keep its ancient spell.

But May has other and more obvious witnesses in the city which celebrated its twenty-six hundred and sixty-third birthday two or three weeks ago. There are flowers for sale at inconceivably low prices everywhere. The streets are sweet with them; they are fairly thrust into your hands as you drive to and fro in your quest of beauty or antiquity. The Campo di Fiore, in the very heart of the old quarter, is given over to them, and on Wednesdays looks as if it were dressed for a *festa;* on any other day it smells as sweet and is as fragrant as a garden. The people crowd there to buy flowers as they go elsewhere to buy vegetables, because they are among the necessities of life and because they are within reach of the poorest. The love of flowers is indeed one of the evidences of a ripe civilization, and the window-boxes in Nuremberg and the little gardens in front of the English laborer's cottage alike bear witness to a love of nature which poverty cannot extinguish. Climate has much to do with this floral fertility; in Italy and England nature turns gardener and does a large share of the work which must be planned for and paid for at home; but there remains a great work to be done in making small bits of ground bloom in America as they bloom in Europe. If societies had not devastated America to such an extent as to threaten the very existence of individual action and to turn the country into a vast committee-room, one would be tempted to organize a Society for the Propagation of Flowers in the United States, without a constitution, by laws, officers, minutes, and, above all, without an annual meeting and "distinguished speakers from abroad." It is the charm of flower-growing here that it is ancient habit; an immemorial devotion; as much a spontaneous fertility as the growth of the flowers. A charming English-woman standing in a riotous Kentish garden where the flowers were breast-high about her was asked what she did to secure such a glorious harvest of color.

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"Pull things out," was the prompt reply. The soil was so impregnated with the seeds of ancient life that it had long ceased to need any care save pruning!

This sense of overflowing beauty fills the streets of Rome in May. At the bottom of the Spanish Steps the mass of color could hardly be more glorious if the morning had rolled in from the Campagna and broken in a great wave of flowers. There are suggestions and reminiscences of all Italy in that sweet-scented place. The trams run so close to the curb that you are almost crowded into the flowers, and the square is noisy with cabs and traffic; but the freshness of a thousand dewy mornings enfolds you, and on your right is the house in which Keats died, and at the top of the stairs, in Trinita de' Monti, the nuns sing a vesper service on Sunday evenings which touches your heart with a sense of hidden sorrow and hidden joy. Old engravings show that the Piazza di Spagna near the steps has changed little since the day when Keats died in Severn's arms, and the locality seems dedicated to religion, to poetry, and to flowers! There May sits enthroned in Rome; not only the loveliest of the months, but the symbol of the immortal youth of the human spirit.

Rome, May 10.

ARMA PUERUMQUE CANO

BY EDMUND L. PEARSON

IN the warfare that raged through the neighborhood it invariably fell on Ed Mason and me to support lost causes. As the two smallest, we were told off to represent the English at Bunker Hill. It was a revised and thoroughly patriotic Bunker Hill, for the English never reached the top, but had to retreat under a galling fire of snowballs or horse-chestnuts, according to the season. As Confederates, we dashed boldly but ineffectually across the valley at Gettysburg. When the honor of the Old Guard at Waterloo was in our keeping, we did not die, but we did surrender ignominiously, and were locked up in a box-stall in Peter Bailey's father's stable. After that the allied forces, consisting of Peter, Rob Currier (who lived across the street), Joe and Charley Carter, and Sam Noyes, basely withdrew to inspect Auntie Merrill's pears (which were nearly ripe) and left us Napoleonic veterans to wither in captivity.

It was not only in struggles among ourselves that we had to drink of the bitter cup of defeat. When we banded together against the common enemy, things were not much better. Take, for instance, the time when Peter Bailey decided to turn the stable into a police station. The stalls suggested cells (there were no horses kept in them), and the success with which the Old Guard had been imprisoned after their crushing defeat at Waterloo showed the desirability of more captives.

At first things took their usual course. Ed Mason and I were informed that we were a gang of cutthroats, burglars, highway robbers, pickpockets, counterfeiters, and other kinds of ruffians, and bade to sneak about the streets. We were warned not to run too fast when the police approached to arrest us, and told that it was "no fair" to make any determined resistance. When Peter Bailey, Rob Currier, and the others dashed out of the stable, clad (in their own estimation) in blue coats and brass buttons, we were to submit to arrest *ad libitum*. But after we had been dragged in and confined in cells a dozen or twenty times, it began to pall even on the policemen. It had long ago become sickeningly familiar to us.

To give the thing variety, new victims must be found. We were weary of the business and had ceased to feel any terror at the prospect of confinement. We never served terms longer than thirty seconds, for we had to be released immediately in order to be arrested once more. With only two criminals in the world, the

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policeman's lot became a tedious one. Both prisoners and police felt that unless something happened the stable could no longer a prison make, nor wooden stalls a cage.

Peter proposed to reform the whole thing. He boldly suggested that we go outside our own circles and arrest the boys who went through the street on their way to the parochial school. It would have to be done with all the majesty of the law, and that required a billy for each policeman.

These were duly made out of broomsticks. With great pains a hole was burned through the top of each with a red-hot poker. Then a cord was passed through the hole, so the billy might be dangled and swung. We were now ready for the prisoners, and our first campaign was all that the heart could wish. We waylaid a group of boys, and, without much struggle, soon had a prisoner in each cell. After a little we let them go. They hurried off, remarking that they would get even with us. These wholesale arrests were continued for two or three days, and all went happily. It was not until a week afterward that the reckoning came. Then a crowd of the outraged prisoners found Ed Mason and me alone, fell upon us, and beat us full sore. Without the whole force of police our authority had waned, and once again it became apparent that humiliation was ever our fortune in feats of arms.

It was this last straw that led to our singular revolt on the day of the famous cowboy and Indian raid. We outraged all the proprieties, turned against the white man, and showed a criminal disregard for the cause of civilization. But for once victory rested with us. We plucked success out of failure, and found that it was good. When we had it, we declined to let it go. Force of arms had decided the issue, and we accepted its arbitrament. Argument could not move us. The worm turned, and the turning of him was terrible.

A hot and languorous day in August saw the great battle of redskins and palefaces. Nothing in the weather stirred us to mighty deeds. The long afternoon had dragged on to half-past four. For two hours we had roamed the street, the gardens, and back yards. A dullness settled over things. The phœbe-bird who sat on Mr. Hawkins's woodshed reiterated his dismal note, as though the weariness of the dog-days had entered his very soul.

"Phe-e-e—be-e-e-e," he remarked, with that falling inflection on the last syllable that would dampen the spirits of a circus clown.

"Phe-e-e—be e-e."

Mr. Hawkins himself leaned over his gate and smoked his pipe. An ice-cart came lumbering down the street. That, at least, was interesting. We hurried to meet it, and each possessed himself of a lump of ice. Then we perched, some on my fence and some on the blue box that held the garden hose. We removed the straw and sawdust from the ice, and began to suck it. Mr. Hawkins, having taken his clay pipe from his mouth, engaged in a conversation with the driver of the ice-cart on the prospects of rain. We watched them languidly. They debated the question at length, until the dripping water from the ice-cart had formed three dark spots in the dusty street.

Peter Bailey said, "Let's go up to Davenport's and see if the raft is there." Davenport's was a general term used to describe a field, and a pond in that field. The pond was a small affair, with no large amount of water, but a great deal of black mud. It was not without certain tremendous fascinations, however, for we all knew that in one place it had no bottom. Moreover, leeches abounded. Few, if any of us, had ever seen a leech; but we were aware that if one of them attached himself to the human body, no power under Heaven could drag him off, and he would not stop his infernal work until he had drained away every drop of blood.

Ed Mason and I had other reasons than the leeches for not wanting to experiment with the raft at Davenport's. Only a week before we had been capsized from that raft. We had not found the bottomless spot, nor been attacked by leeches; but we had crawled ashore in such a condition of muddiness that our reception at our respective homes had been depressing. Davenport's could get along without us for a while.

Peter's suggestion fell flat. Just then

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Charley Carter caught sight of a spare piece of clothes-line in my side yard. He ran and seized it, shouting, "Lassoes!" It was a happy idea. The boundless West, the prairies, herds of buffaloes, roving Indians, cowboys—these were the visions that excited us in an instant, especially the cowboys. What a life is theirs—to gallop forever with cracking revolvers and whirling lassoes; to capture the mighty buffalo and bring down the hated Indian! Why should we not do that? Mr. Hawkins, next door, might continue to smoke his pipe to the monotonous song of the phœbe. For us, the career of danger far beyond the Mississippi; the life that knows no fear on the wind-swept prairie!

A lack of any more rope in my yard and my firm refusal to have the clothes-lines cut down entire made us depart to Bailey's stable, where desperate enterprises were set on foot. We made the lassoes and drew upon our armory for wooden revolvers. These are thoroughly satisfactory weapons if you wave them in the air and shout "Bang!" at frequent intervals. But immediately Peter Bailey's genius for military organization asserted itself. He and Rob Currier, the two Carters, and Sam Noyes would be the cowboys. The hostile Indians must be impersonated, of course, by Ed Mason and myself. What was the sense of having cowboys without Indians for them to destroy? So we should have no lassoes, nor yet revolvers, but only tomahawks.

Right here I drew the line. Ed backed me up, and we announced our ultimatum. Indians we would be, and lassoless we would go, but to ask us to refrain from carrying revolvers was demanding too much. We stuck out for revolvers, and intimated that a refusal would cause us to withdraw from all operations that afternoon. So the concession was made. Even then we knew that the adventure could end only in one fashion. We should be chased, hunted down, shot, lassoed, scalped, and finally burned at the stake, during an imposing war-dance; for these cowboys were fully enamored of Indian methods of warfare when turned against the Indians themselves. We were to belong to a dangerous tribe, recently discovered by Peter Bailey, and called *Sigh-ux*. We agreed to start on our barbaric career from the stable. From there to the street corner we should have full license to pillage and destroy. In order to give the avenging cowboys due provocation, we were to commit certain outrages on the way. These might include burning down the Universalist Church on the corner and ringing the door-bell at Miss Whipple's private school. Once we had turned into Elm Street, where I lived, we would have to look to our safety. The cowboys would be on our track.

So off we went. In a few moments, ignited by shots from our revolvers, the Universalist Church was wrapped in flames. We rang Miss Whipple's door-bell, and as an additional atrocity threatened her cat with tomahawks. Then we turned up Elm Street, and knew in a moment, by loud yells that arose, that the cowboys had burst out of their encampment and were after us.

I suppose Ed shared my feelings of despair as we ran up the street. The youngest cowboy was two years older than either of us; they were all swifter runners, and they outnumbered us by three. In a few moments it would all be over. Our brief season of bloodshed and destruction was past, and it now only remained for us to be slaughtered at the cowboys' will. It was so tiresome! Our defeats at Bunker Hill, at Gettysburg, at Waterloo, and on countless other stricken fields recurred to us as we panted along. If we could only turn the tables in some way!

Instinctively we hurried toward the side yard of my house, climbed the fence, and tumbled over. We landed on the blue box that held the garden hose. The cowboys were approaching rapidly, with loud cries and much banging of revolvers. Already Sam Noyes was shouting that he had shot me five times, and that I must fall dead instantly. In a moment, we knew, they would be over the fence after us.

Moved by the same thought, we opened the blue box. The hose was connected with the tap at the side of the house. Ed turned the tap, while I, standing on the edge of the box and looking over the fence into the street, swept the road with a stream of cold water. Sam Noyes stopped

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abruptly in his rush toward the fence, and Joe Carter, who had halted about thirty feet away to pour a volley of bullets after us, executed a swift movement to the rear.

The others paused where they were. Tomahawks, scalping-knives, spears, and revolvers—none of these would have checked the bold cowboys for a moment. But this stream of water was another matter.

It does not do for any cowboy, however desperate, to go home to his parents with his clothes soaking wet. Such events often mean an enforced retirement for a day from the field of glory.

"Whatcher doing?" screamed Peter Bailey. "That ain't fair!"

We felt that he was right. This garden hose suddenly springing out of the Western prairie was a false note. Artistically it jarred. It was like bringing a schoolteacher into fairyland.

But we did not stop the stream. For once we saw the militant Peter, his fearless lieutenant, Rob Currier, and all the rest of the ever-victorious army held in check. No feeling that we were violating the fitness of things could detract from the sweetness of the moment. If eternal defeat had not embittered us in the past, we might have been more artistic and less human on this occasion. But in an instant, and as by direct intervention of the gods, our retreat had been turned into triumph, and that we did not intend to relinquish. Woe, woe, to the vanquished!

They argued with us—keeping out of reach of the stream; they pointed out that it was a gross disregard for the unities, a thing without precedent or parallel—Indians never had garden hose. To this we replied that *these* Indians had; and we challenged the cowboys to come on. They declined to do so. We suggested that they might surrender and give themselves up to the torture. They scorned the idea. Finally, deciding that we were beneath their notice, they departed down the street. Then the Indian war-whoop rang out so triumphantly that Mr. Hawkins opened his gate and came out to the sidewalk to see what was the matter.

THE NEW BOOKS

Mr. George Cary Eggleston has been for forty years active in New York's literary and newspaper circles. He has edited one great journal, has been literary critic on another, has served as publishers' adviser, has published many capital boys' books, has written a good history of the Civil War (in which he took part as a Confederate) and also an exceedingly good-tempered volume of memories of that war under the title "A Rebel's Recollections," was one of the founders of the Authors Club, and has known any number of famous people. Here surely has been a fine opportunity to gather agreeable memories and good stories. In his seventieth year he publishes his "Recollections of a Varied Life," prefaces it with the promise that it shall be "altogether a good-natured book," and more than keeps his word. Pleasanter reading it would be hard to find. Fresh from its perusal, one can only hope that there remain in Mr. Eggleston's note-books and recollections material for another volume as enjoyable as this. Particularly interesting are his memories of William Cullen Bryant; they afford one of a very few intimate descriptions of Bryant's ways of talking and thinking. Mr. Eggleston writes with leisurely ease; he has the facility which comes only after long training; he tells a story admirably; his experiences have been varied and often odd; in short, if a more cheerful, amiable, friendly, and entertaining book of reminiscences has been written for a long time, we have failed to see it. (Henry Holt & Co., New York. $3.)

"The Ramrodders," Mr. Holman Day's story of political and corporation bossism in Maine, is a lively companion-piece to Mr. Winston Churchill's "Mr. Crewe's Career," which deals with similar material as found in New Hampshire. Mr. Day's country wire-puller is a shrewd old fellow; his fun reminds one a little of David Harum. Tricky as he is, he is a lovable man, and his belief in "deals" as the only way of running a party and a State is perfectly sincere. When his grandson, forced against his will into the Legislature by such tactics, acquires the "new ideas," the fight between the two men and the two systems becomes sharp and bitter. The story is simply written, but might easily have been told in less space. It will set old-line politicians thinking. (Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.)

"A Marriage under the Terror" won first prize in an English competition open to all

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contestants. So perverse is critical human nature that we confess to a prejudice against the story for this very reason, and to another prejudice because it is a tale of the French Revolution, which has produced about as many novels as it cut off heads. But the author, "Patricia Wentworth" (a pen name), quickly overcame these two prejudices. Her romance is admirably constructed, her use of historical incident is graphic, her heroine appeals simply and sincerely to our pity. The novel is emphatically a piece of good workmanship, with movement and suspense in every chapter. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

In his well printed and illustrated "Giovanni Boccaccio" Mr. Edward Hutton calls Boccaccio's age "the Early Renaissance." But most critics, we think, will still regard it as belonging rather to the Gothic age. In its thought the world has long united three writers—Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio. In emphasizing the Gothic age each of the three had his special significance. Dante, who died in 1321, was perhaps the profoundest mystic of that or any other age. Petrarch, who died in 1374, was perhaps the type for that age and for all time of sweetness of spirit and perfection of literary form. But, claims Mr. Hutton, Boccaccio was more complete than either of them! This is true in so far as Boccaccio was "full at once of laughter and humility and love," and in so far as to Dante's "Divine Comedy" he opposed the human. Later, however, as we are glad to note, Mr. Hutton admits that, while the "Decameron" shows Boccaccio to have been a great master of comedy, there was not enough moral sense in him to compose a tragedy. Mr. Hutton wisely does not compare the "Decameron" to the "Divine Comedy" as a work of art. But, claiming that the "Decameron" is the greatest prose achievement in the Tuscan tongue, he mounts from height to height until he actually believes that Boccaccio had a supreme significance in the history of culture! Who will follow Mr. Hutton thus far? Nevertheless, his book is extremely interesting. So far as we know, no such adequate account exists in any language. From it we gain a larger view of the "Decameron." It was Boccaccio's most important work, though he wrote numerous others, both in verse and prose, in Italian and Tuscan. Unfortunately, nowadays the name "Decameron" has come to be a synonym for sexual immorality. But it is only one feature of the work. Mr. Hutton ascribes its prominence not only to the prevailing lack of morals in Italy, but also to the French sources of some of the tales—indeed, Boccaccio later deplored his license. Yet, even so, the particular kind of immorality for which the "Decameron" is noted does, as Mr. Hutton says, usurp a place in that work out of all proportion to its importance in life. This is certainly true. Consider Boccaccio's beautiful young women: they are nearly all adulteresses. Among Boccaccio's female characters, Griselda seems the only faithful wife. Another criticism of the "Decameron" is noteworthy: Mr. Hutton declares that it sums up and reflects the fourteenth century altogether impersonally, "while the 'Divine Comedy' would scarcely hold us at all without the impassioned personality of Dante to inform it everywhere with his profound life, his hatred, his love, his judgment of this world and the next." As to its entire application this statement may be questioned. We like our critic better when he recounts the influence of the "Decameron" on the poets who have drawn from it—Chaucer, Sidney, Shakespeare, Hans Sachs, Molière, La Fontaine, Lope de Vega, Dryden, Keats, Tennyson—particularly when, in discussing Boccaccio's influence on Chaucer, one striking superiority of the "Canterbury Tales" over the "Decameron" is noted: "Each of Chaucer's pilgrims is a complete human being, . . . but in the protagonists of the 'Decameron' it is not so. . . . In Chaucer the tales often weary us, but the tellers never do; in Boccaccio the tales never weary us, but the tellers always do." (John Lane Company, New York. $5.)

The volume of addresses on educational topics, the first of which, "Government by Influence," gives its title to the collection, is of unusual value both for its outlook and its insight. The country is fortunate in the succession of its author, Dr. Elmer E. Brown, to the late Dr. Harris as United States Commissioner of Education. Its treatment of subjects appealing to a large variety of interests is both philosophic and practical. On the relations of religious and secular education we read that "the same moral conceptions are coming to be the uppermost convictions in science, in democracy, and in religion;" so that ultimately we may "find that diverse religions have come to unity among themselves in this very process of coming into accord with democracy and science on the high ground of moral conviction." The hall-mark of liberal culture and large experience is stamped on every portion of this suggestive volume. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.35, net.)

How to preach evangelically in the fullest sense of the word, and at the same time convincingly to the modernly educated mind, is well illustrated in a little volume of nine sermons entitled "Things that Remain," by the Rev. Caius G. Atkins. These were given consecutively at the close of a short but successful pastorate in Detroit. Their common theme is the ultimate realities of the eternal life. In thought intellectually clear and spiritually profound, cultured in expression, and practical in point against current fallacies and sins, their effect is distinctly quickening and uplifting. (Sold by M. C. Stowell, 1419 Majestic Building, Detroit, Michigan. $1.25.)

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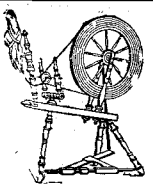

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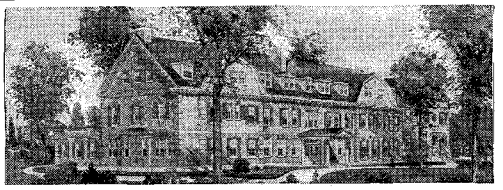

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ALL these your *widow* or your *orphans* must have—just as you are providing them for your *wife and children now*—Your absence will not lessen their appetites—nor obviate their necessities—in the least degree—your going may affect only their income and consequently their ability to have these things. And how about the little pleasures of life which you delight in giving them now?—Don't you think they will need a Summer vacation?—and an occasional outing just the same—even though you cannot be here to share these enjoyments with them? Why let your family carry this risk—*when life insurance was devised primarily for this very purpose?*—Don't stop to *think* about it—ACT!—NOW!—TO-DAY!—You do not know—it may already be too late for *you* to get these benefits. Send for THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY man and find out:

First: Whether *you* can become a member of the Society;

Second: How little it will cost to put an Equitable policy between *your family* (not *you*,—for you will not be here to pay the price of neglect and delay), and the thousand and one things which can happen to a man's family when he is not here to look out for them.

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OF THE UNITED STATES

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AGENCIES EVERYWHERE! None in your town? Then why not recommend some good man—or woman—to us, to represent us there—Great opportunities to-day in Life Insurance work for the Equitable.

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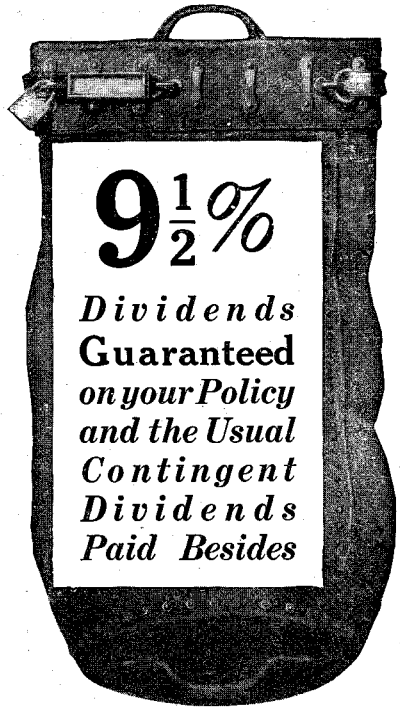

WHY THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE ARE PLACING THEIR INSURANCE IN THE POSTAL LIFE

TEN GOOD REASONS — and

there are others, why you should place your insurance in the POSTAL.

The company will promptly mail full personal information on request.

Simply write and say: "*Send life-insurance particulars as mentioned in The Outlook*" and be sure to give,

1. **Your Occupation.**
2. **The Exact Date of your Birth.**

Your request for information puts you under no obligation and no agent will be sent to bother you.

1. It is the only American life-company in which applicants can arrange for policies **direct**—by **mail** or **over the counter** at the Home Office: the POSTAL dispenses with agents, branch offices, and middlemen, thus **saving** where others **spend.**

2. Its risks are selected with special care, resulting in exceptional savings on mortality.

3. Profits from these savings and from investments are returned as policy-dividends to policyholders each year.

4. The POSTAL LIFE guarantees to policyholders a dividend of 9½ per cent each year, equaling the renewal commission of 7½ per cent plus the collection fee of 2 per cent, both of which other companies pay out to agents.

5. POSTAL LIFE **guaranteed** dividends are in addition to its **regular contingent** dividends each year, which are **larger** than in other companies.

6. These cumulative dividends bring the **net cost** of insurance **lower than in any other company.**

7. The POSTAL LIFE operates under a perpetual charter from the State of New York and is conducted in thorough accord with the Hughes reform legislation.

8. Its policies are all officially approved by the State Insurance Department, looking to the interest of the policy-holder.

9. The POSTAL is as safe as the biggest or the oldest company because its assets are as large, in fact larger, in proportion to its liabilities.

10. POSTAL premiums may be deposited **monthly**—a great convenience to many people.

POSTAL LIFE-INSURANCE COMPANY

527 FIFTH AVENUE - - - - - - NEW YORK

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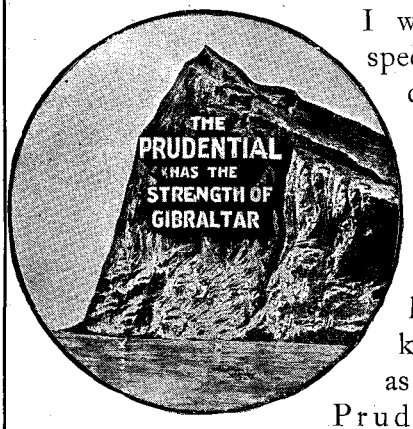
The Following Extract from a Letter

To Prudential Ordinary Policyholders

Should be read attentively by Every Husband and Father of a Family:



I wish to specifically call attention to what has become popularly known as The Prudential Monthly Income Policy.

Practical experience has demonstrated to us that this is the safest and most perfect form of life insurance contract ever devised for the absolute protection of the family.

The different forms of insurance issued by The Prudential have their special merits and are issued to meet the specific wishes or needs of our patrons. But whether for specific or general purposes, provision for the actual support of dependants is the natural and sincere desire of every husband and father. There is nothing that so completely meets this requirement as The Prudential Monthly Income Policy.

The wife is educated to depend on an income or allowance to meet the current bills and expenses of running the home. Hence it would be safest and most convenient for the widow and mother also to have an income payable monthly, like a pension or salary, which would relieve her of such business cares as the investing of money and of the uncertainties that would naturally attend. The Prudential Monthly Income Policy protects her in these respects. It removes all possibility of loss. It is the widow's policy, the home policy, the family policy, and if everything else should fail, it comes to the rescue, and is to her a never-failing source of support. No plan for the support and protection of the widow, the daughter, the son, or other dependant has ever been devised that is so perfect in all its features.

It may also be taken upon the Endowment plan, providing for a monthly income or old-age pension, for the insured himself, or for his beneficiary, or for both.

I remain, very truly yours,

John F. Dryden

PRESIDENT.

A Prudential Monthly Income Policy Check Coming Every Month Will Pay Household Bills.

Write for full Details.

The Prudential

Insurance Company of America

Incorporated as a Stock Company by the State of New Jersey

Home Office, Newark, N. J.

USE COUPON

Send for full particulars and cost.
For $..... a month income.

Name .....

Address .....

Occupation .....

My age is.....

Beneficiary's age .....Dept. 19

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A Personal Suggestion

If you invest your surplus funds through the medium of an experienced and reliable investment banking firm you will be given every assistance in selecting bonds combining safety, prompt payment of interest, a reasonably broad market and excellent promise of appreciation. It is important to remember that all of these features contribute to the attractiveness and desirability of an investment. It is a great mistake for any one to purchase investments that do not measure up to this standard, and especially to be tempted by an excessive rate of interest, which is liable to be unexpectedly reduced or suspended.

Our Circular **No. 524** describes a well diversified list of bonds secured upon properties of demonstrated value and earning power. The bonds have been purchased by banks and well-informed investors. They yield from about

4½ to 5½%

We will gladly give you the benefit of our experience in selecting bonds which seem to best adapt themselves to your personal requirements.

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On account of the near maturity, high grade securities due in from one to three years are particularly desirable for the investment of temporary funds, being

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Your surplus funds invested in carefully selected, high grade bonds will pay you a fixed income for a period of years, long or short as you may desire, and at the end of the time will come back to you ready to be sent out to work again.

We have prepared a booklet, telling in easily understood terms, about investments, and the purposes for which bonds are issued, which we shall be glad to send free of cost.

Ask for Booklet Y, "Financial Courtship," and Circular No. 32 Y.

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Write for booklet giving full particulars.

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